DIARY OF JOHN EVELYN,

ESQ., F.R.S.

ÉDITION DE LUXE.

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Pickering & Son

DIARY OF

John Evelyn,

ESQ., F.R.S.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED A SELECTION FROM HIS

FAMILIAR LETTERS

AND THE PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN

KING CHARLES I. AND SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS

AND BETWEEN

SIR EDWARD HYDE (AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON)

AND SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS.

BY WILLIAM BRAY, F.S.A.

A NEW EDITION IN FOUR VOLUMES

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

WITH ONE HUNDRED ENGRAVED AND TWENTY-FOUR WOODBURY TYPE PORTRAITS AND VIEWS.

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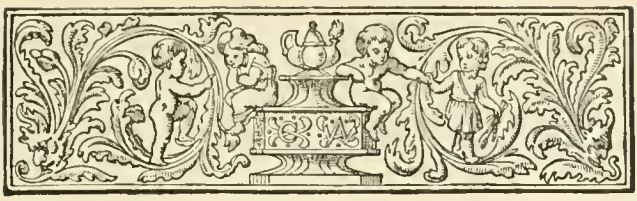


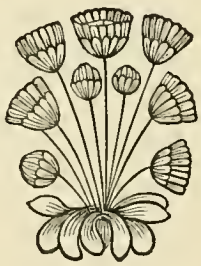
PREFACE.

ABOUT four years ago we made arrangements for the publication of a library edition of Evelyn's Diary and Correspondence which should be uniform with our edition of Pepys's Diary and Correspondence, by the Rev. Mynors Bright, and we then requested Mr. Henry B. Wheatley to undertake the preparation of this edition. Mr. Wheatley at once placed himself in communication with Mr. W. J. Evelyn, F.S.A., the present possessor of the Evelyn property (through a common friend), and requested Mr. Evelyn to allow him access to the original manuscript, so that the new edition might be thoroughly revised. Mr. Evelyn was unable at the time to allow of any such use being made of the MS., and, although on subsequent applications he did not definitely refuse his assistance, he postponed the consideration of the matter to a future time.

In the early part of the present year we felt that the time had come when we must put the work in hand, and we therefore wrote ourselves to Mr. Evelyn on the subject. In the answer which we received (dated 25 April, 1879), Mr. Evelyn wrote: "Colburn's third edition of the Diary was very correctly printed

from the MS., and may be relied on as giving an accurate text." Upon receiving this letter we came to the conclusion that the best course would be to reprint the scarce library edition of 1827 (5 vols. 8vo., Colburn's third edition referred to) exactly as it stands, but, in order to give a special feature to our edition, Mr. Wheatley has written an entirely new life of Evelyn, which is prefixed to this first volume.

BICKERS AND SON.



LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.[1]

THE endeavour to discover the causes of the fame of celebrated men although of considerable interest, is not one likely to lead to any very satisfactory result. It is easy to ask why some of the men eminent in their own day are forgotten now? and why those who were little esteemed when they lived have become powers in the present times? but it is not so easy to answer the questions thus propounded.

The fame of Evelyn has been great from his own day to this, and yet he did not hold a prominent position in any movement of national importance. His greatest work was his "Sylva," a book that has exerted considerable influence over the plantation of timber in this country: and he received the appellation of "Sylva" Evelyn until the publication of the Diary, when he came to be known in a new character.

In times when the study both of nature and art had become a popular pastime, Evelyn was prepared by education and taste to minister to the public

[1] An attempt is here made to gather from the Diary, Correspondence, and other sources, all the main facts of Evelyn's life, and to set them down in chronological order. The carrying-out of this plan may have caused some parts of the sketch to appear disconnected, but this disadvantage has been risked for the sake of convenience of reference.

wants. Without genius, he obtained renown by the universality of his talents and the loftiness of his virtues. He was a thorough Englishman, but with a character cultured by travel such as few of his countrymen possessed, and Englishmen of succeeding generations have been ready to consider him as a representative of their nation, of whom all might be proud.

It is usual for biographers to carry their readers through the incidents of their subject's life, and then to draw attention to the character thus exhibited; and it is usually thought hazardous to adopt the reverse process and chance the raising of antagonistic feelings in the reader's breast by stating the virtues of the subject first, to be proved afterwards by reference to the facts. As Evelyn's life, however, was an uncommon one, and the most searching inquiry into the incidents of that life reveals nothing more than a few trifling foibles, it will probably be safe to ignore this salutary rule in his case. It is true that some few, like the Athenians of old, have grown tired of hearing Aristides called *the just*, but they form an almost undistinguished minority, and Southey happily observes: "Satire, from whom nothing is sacred, scarcely attempted to touch him while living; and the acrimony of political and religious hatred, though it spares not even the dead, has never assailed his memory."[1]

Devotion to duty united with rare tact and culture formed the most striking characteristic of Evelyn's life. By nature he was formed for a retired and studious life, but duty saved him from degenerating into a recluse, and he was always ready to undertake the most arduous employments that were likely to benefit his fellow-men. Duty kept him true to his King, and made him a representative Cavalier; but it also made him, what many of the Cavaliers were not, true to his God as well as to his King. Tact saved

[1] "Quarterly Review," xix. 53.

him from making enemies, and enabled him while keeping staunch to his principles to pass through the most exciting period of our annals safely and with respect from his fellow-men. His catholic taste is exhibited in the subjects of his books; and architecture, painting, engraving, numismatics, history, politics, morals, education, agriculture, gardening, and commerce all engaged his attention. There will be opportunity further on of referring to these books, but it may be generally remarked here that it would be unfair to judge them by the knowledge of our own day. Evelyn was not a professed author, although he was a prolific writer, and his publications were mostly intended to meet a want which he had descried. That his judgment was not at fault is seen by the fact that several of them went through many editions.

The posthumous work upon which his fame now chiefly rests is apt to be depreciated by comparison with the Diary of Pepys, but it is hardly fair to compare them. Pepys's work stands alone, and there is no other book in any literature that can be put by its side. It consists of confessions; but unlike most other confessions, it was never intended for the public eye. It reveals the secrets of the writer's heart and paints to the life the doings of ten stirring years of our annals. Evelyn's Diary, on the contrary, deals chiefly with the outer life, and extends over the long period of the writer's existence. It is full of value on account of the importance of the information contained in it and the pleasing manner in which that information is conveyed. Scott said of it that "he had never seen a mine so rich," and all who have read and re-read the delightful pages will be inclined to agree with our great novelist. Evelyn is contented to relate facts, and seldom analyzes his feelings or gives his opinions, yet none the less is his fine character exhibited in life-like proportions. He en-

joyed intimate relations with the King and the royal family and was frequently employed upon businesses of weight. Charles and James esteemed him highly, and knew that they could always depend upon his integrity; but although they employed him for many public objects and attached salaries to the offices he held, he was little remunerated for his services, and rather was himself out of pocket. Being a younger son with a younger son's portion during the greater part of his life he was not a rich man. He was, however, in what are called "easy circumstances," and by careful housekeeping and judicious expenditure he was able to make a figure consistent with his rank.

In dealing with the circumstances of Evelyn's life it will be convenient to treat them under three divisions :—

I. His early life and travels.

II. His settlement in England with his wife until the Restoration.

III. The period from the Restoration till his death.

I. His Early Life and Travels.

John Evelyn came of a good family, which had been settled in the county of Surrey for about a century before his birth, and is supposed to have come originally from Evelin in Normandy.[1] His grandfather, George Evelyn, carried on the manufacture of gunpowder at Long Ditton, and had three sons, who became heads of three distinct families of Evelyn, viz.,

The family of Evelyn.

[1] On the 26th May, 1670, Evelyn and his brother went to meet Monsieur Evelin, first physician to Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, at the Tower, and he adds in his Diary, "How this French family Ivelin of Evelin, Normandy, a very ancient and noble house, is grafted into our pedigree, see in the Collection brought from Paris, 1650," vol. ii. p. 245.

Thomas, the eldest son, at Long Ditton; John at Godstone, and Richard at Wotton. The manufacture of gunpowder was carried on at Godstone as well as at Long Ditton, but it does not appear that at any time there was a mill at Wotton.

Richard, the father of our diarist, was a man of ample means, and one who was held in great esteem in his neighbourhood. A full picture of the several points in his character and appearance is drawn in the first pages of the Diary. Although "a studious decliner of honours and titles," as is shown by his paying the fine in order to escape being knighted, yet when called upon to serve in the honourable office of High Sheriff for Surrey and Sussex he distinguished himself by his princely hospitality. He was married at St. Thomas's, Southwark, on the 27th January, 1613, to Eleanor,[1] sole daughter and heiress of John Standsfield, and after having two daughters, their eldest son George was born on 18th June, 1617. Three years afterwards, on 31st October, 1620, their second son John first saw the light in the family mansion of Wotton. John Evelyn loved his native county dearly, and he expatiates on its beauties in the early pages of the Diary. Although he travelled much and lived the greater part of his life at Deptford, his heart always turned with affection to his "sweet and native country." He was baptized in the dining-room at Wotton, and it not being the fashion at that time for mothers to suckle their infants, he was sent out to be nursed by a tenant's wife, and he remained away from home until the 17th January, 1622. The first circumstance in his life that impressed itself on his memory was the sight, when he was three years old, of his younger brother Richard in the nurse's arms, and in after life

John Evelyn's early life.

[1] On her monument she is styled "Ellen Evelyn."

he recalled this as his earliest recollection. At four years old he picked up some of the rudiments of learning from a schoolmaster named Frier, who taught him at the church-porch of Wotton. In 1625 he was sent to live with his grandfather Standsfield at Lewes in Sussex, and shortly after going there was taken so dangerously ill of a fever that the physicians despaired of his life for a time. When six years old his portrait was painted by Chanterell, whom he calls "no ill painter." His grandfather died in 1627, but this made no change in his mode of life, for he had endeared himself to his grandfather's second wife, who wished to keep him with her. A Frenchman named Citolin, who lived at Lewes, was employed to teach the boy the rudiments of Latin. This was in the year 1628, about which time Evelyn's taste for drawing and designing first showed itself, and soon after he commenced a more regular course of study at a Mr. Potts's school in the cliff at Lewes. On the 7th of January, 1630, he was removed to the free school at Southover, of which Edward Snatt was the master, and here he remained until he went to the University. In this same year his grandmother married Mr. Newton of Southover, and they all removed from Lewes to that town. Evelyn's father wished to send him to Eton, but the report of severe discipline there terrified the boy and his over-indulgent grandmother, and the latter persuaded the father to let him stay on at the Lewes school. This decision Evelyn greatly regretted in after life.

Early teaching.

His portrait by Chanterell.

School at Southover.

In 1631 he began to keep a diary in a blank almanac, as he had seen his father do, but the Diary which we possess could not have been commenced until a much

Evelyn keeps a diary.

later period of his life, although the events of these early years are related in it. About this time domestic troubles overtook the family at Wotton. In October, 1632, Eliza, the eldest child of Richard Evelyn, was married to Edward Darcy, of Dartford House, and on the 15th December, 1634, she died, in the twentieth year of her age. Evelyn describes her as a woman of rare virtue, and her husband as the worst of men. Darcy's vices, however, did not prevent him from getting a second wife, for we find that he afterwards married Lady Elizabeth Stanhope, daughter of Philip first Earl of Chesterfield.

Death of his sister Darcy.

The mother was overwhelmed with grief at the loss of her daughter, and having no power to compose her feelings she fell a victim to a malignant fever. Several physicians attended her, and she tried Sir Sanders Duncombe's then famous powder, but all without avail. Evelyn dwells with fond recollection on the virtues of his mother in the pages of his journal. On her death-bed she summoned all her children to her side, and gave them each a ring with her blessing. She also sent for all the servants and counselled them separately, and desired that her husband would give to the poor whatever sum he had designed to devote to her funeral.

Death of his mother.

While yet at school Evelyn was admitted into the Middle Temple, on the 13th of February, 1637, and on the following 10th of May he was entered as a Fellow Commoner of Balliol College, Oxford, matriculating in the vestry of St. Mary's on the 29th of the same month. He tells us that he was backward in his studies, and that he went to the University rather out of shame of abiding longer at school than for any fitness, but it

Evelyn is admitted a member of the Inner Temple, and matriculates at Oxford.

is always necessary to accept these confessions with some allowance. Evelyn's father appointed George Bradshaw to be his tutor; but although that gentleman had parts, he was too busy with his own concerns to pay much attention to his pupil. Evelyn, however, associated himself with James Thicknesse, from whose conversation he acknowledges himself to have received great advantage, and with whom he afterwards travelled on the Continent. Soon after he had entered into residence he presented to his College library certain books which he had heard were much desired by the students of divinity.

At Christmas, 1637, he hurt his leg by leaping down from a table in the dark at the presentation of a comedy by the gentlemen of Exeter College. This accident kept him indoors for a time, but in the January of the following year he was admitted into the dancing and vaulting schools. The master of the latter was William Stokes, who published a book called "The Vaulting Master," in 1665, which is commended by Evelyn.

In the summer of 1638 our diarist visited several places in the south of England, but in September he suffered with a quartan ague, which continued for about three months. In January, 1639, he studied the rudiments of music, and in December of the same year he was confirmed at St. Mary's by Bishop Bancroft of Oxford. It is worth noting here that he had received the sacrament on several occasions before his confirmation.

He is confirmed.

On 27th of April, 1640, he went to London to take up his residence in the Middle Temple, and in June he entered into the occupation of handsome apartments up four pairs of stairs. Here, he says, he obtained a fair

He resides in the Temple.

prospect, but he gained no love for the "unpolished study" of the Law. This same year, 1640, was an important one in the life of Evelyn, for on the 24th of December his father died at Wotton, and he was left to begin life on his own responsibility at an age when he stood in need of counsel and assistance. He describes himself as "of a raw, vain, uncertain, and very unwary inclination," but he thanks God that he did not make shipwreck of his liberty or his virtue.

Death of his father.

The political horizon was now fast clouding over, and in April, 1641, Evelyn was present at the trial of the great Earl of Strafford in Westminster Hall, and heard the prisoner's eloquent defence. On the 12th of May he was a witness of the execution of that nobleman on Tower Hill. After this he resolved to absent himself from England for a time, where he considered all things were going ill. Previous to his departure he presented his sister with his portrait, which had lately been painted by Henry Vanderborcht the younger, who had come to England in the suite of the accomplished Earl of Arundel.

His portrait by Vanderborcht.

On the 21st of July, 1641, he embarked in a Dutch frigate bound for Flushing, and arrived there on the following day. After passing through some of the chief towns of Holland, he came before Genep, which was then besieged, and stayed in camp a few days. He was received as a volunteer in the company of Captain Apsley, and took his turn in the trailing of a pike. He again started on his travels, and on the 28th of August he was complimented at the Leyden schools by being made a member of the University. After visiting Dort, Antwerp, Brussels, and some other towns, he returned to England, and arrived at Dover

He visits Holland.

Returns to England.

from Calais on the 12th of October. At Christmas he was appointed one of the Comptrollers of the Middle Temple revels, but wishing to spend the holidays at Wotton, he obtained leave to resign his staff of office.

He is with the royal army at Brentford.

The battle of Brentford, between the royal and parliamentary troops, was fought on the 12th of November, 1642, and Evelyn came in with his horse and arms just at the retreat. He only stayed with the royal army until the 15th, because they were about to march to Gloucester; and had he gone too, he and his brothers would have been exposed to ruin without advantage to the King. So he returned to Wotton, and no one knew that he had been with the army. In July of the following year, he sent his "black menage horse and furniture" by a friend to the King, who was then at Oxford. This summer he resolved to live a quiet life at Wotton, and with his brother's permission, he built himself a study, and made a fish-pond, an island, and "other solitudes and retirements," and these were the beginnings of those works that afterwards made Wotton the most famous place in England for gardens and waterworks. All Evelyn's schemes of retirement were destroyed by the action of the political party then in power. The Covenant was pressed upon him for signature, and although he absented himself, he found it so difficult to escape doing unhandsome things, that he resolved to leave England, and he obtained a licence from Charles I. to travel again. In November, 1643, therefore, he left Dover for Calais with his friend Thicknesse, and immediately on his arrival in Paris he visited Sir Richard Browne, Charles I.'s resident at the French Court, who was soon to be nearly connected with him.

He retires to Wotton.

He visits Paris.

Evelyn remained several months in Paris, visiting the chief places of interest, and gaining an insight into the French character. Here he made the acquaintance of a Mr. Wall, an Irish gentleman, who had been a friar, a professor, and a captain, and dearly loved a wrangle; and we read an amusing account in the Diary of a disputation at the Sorbonne, on one of their visits together. On entering the divinity school, they found a grave doctor dictating to the scholars. After having sat for a while, Mr. Wall started up and began to dispute with the doctor. As he was dressed in a Spanish habit, which then irritated the French as a red rag does a bull, the doctor and scholars all began to laugh at him, so that his voice was drowned. When silence was obtained, he began to speak in Latin, and made his apology so well that admiration succeeded derision, and when he quite baffled the Professor, the scholars rose up with delight and waited on the party to their coach.

At this early period of his life, Evelyn exhibited that interest in horticulture which continued to be his distinguishing characteristic; and he expatiates in his Diary with glowing language on the beauties of the Luxembourg gardens. He mentions the malls (for playing the game of pall mall), with which most large towns on the Continent were supplied; and takes particular note of those at Blois, Lyons, and Tours. At the latter place he obtained a master, and studied the French language. On the 1st of August, 1644, he was forced to discharge his valet, a Spaniard, who had misbehaved himself. This man demanded 100 crowns, in addition to his wages, to carry him back to his native country; and Evelyn refusing to pay the money, as no part of their agreement, was actually arrested. When he came into Court, the Judge at once acquitted him, and after re-

proaching the servant's advocate, conducted him to the door with all honour. Evelyn does not seem to have been very fortunate in his selection of valets, for a few years afterwards another one, also in France, robbed him of his clothes and plate; but he was successful in getting his property back again.[1]

He visits Italy.

In October, 1644, he passed by sea out of France into Italy, and when his galley neared Genoa he was greeted with the delicious perfumes of orange, citron, and jasmine flowers. This was impressed upon his memory, for we find him alluding to the subject in his dedication of *Fumifugium*, (1661), to the King, where he urges Charles II. to plant sweet-smelling trees:—"Those who take notice of the scent of the orange flowers from the rivage of Genoa and St. Pietro dell' Arena, the blossoms of the rosemary from the coasts of Spain, many leagues off at sea; or the manifest and odoriferous wafts which flow from Fontenay and Vaugirard, even to Paris in the season of roses, with the contrary effects of those less pleasing smells from other accidents, will easily consent to what I assert."

Thomas Henshaw.

At Pisa Evelyn met his old friend Thomas Henshaw, in whose company he remained for more than a year. Henshaw was a man of some mark in his day, and held the office of secretary to the Royal Society from 1668 to 1672, in which year he was succeeded by Evelyn, who had obtained for him his place of French secretary to the King in 1665; and immediately after the Restoration had proposed him for the embassy at Constantinople. When the Duke of Richmond died holding the office of Ambassador in Denmark, Henshaw was appointed Resident at that Court.

[1] May, 1647, see p. 295.

On the 4th of November, 1644, Evelyn arrived at Rome, and here among the persons with whom he became acquainted, was the eccentric Jesuit Kircher. In the following year a curious stone covered with hieroglyphics, lately brought from Cairo, came into his possession; and he sent a drawing of it to Father Kircher by the hands of Mr. Henshaw, as a contribution to the "Obeliscus Pamphilius." This was published in that work, but Henshaw's name only is mentioned, and no note is made of Evelyn. The stone itself was broken to fragments when landed at Wapping. Evelyn visits Rome.

Evelyn remained several months in Rome, and was blessed by the Pope; but having so long made a business of sight-seeing he expressed himself as sated with travelling, and longing to get home again to quiet and repose.

On leaving Rome he visited some of the chief cities of Italy, until he came to Venice, where he found much to admire. He translated those lines in praise of the "glorious city in the sea," for which Sannazarius is said to have received from the Venetian Senate a sum equal to £300:— He arrives in Venice.

> "Neptune saw Venice on the Adria stand,
> Firm as a rock, and all the sea command.
> Think'st thou, O Jove! said he, Rome's walls excel?
> Or that proud cliff, where false Tarpeia fell?
> Grant Tiber best, view both; and you will say
> That men did those, gods these foundations lay."

Evelyn visited Venice at Carnival time, when he found the canals not always safe. On one occasion when he was leading a celebrated singer to her gondola at the usual place of landing, he was shot at by two carbines from another gondola; but fortunately no one was hurt. In June, 1645, he planned a trip to He proposes to visit the Holy Land.

the Holy Land, Egypt, and Turkey; but to his great mortification his scheme was frustrated. There was a ship at Venice bound for the Holy Land, in which he resolved to embark; but after he had provided all necessaries, bought provisions, and a cabinet of drugs, the vessel was pressed for the service of the State to carry provisions to Candia.

He spends his time between Padua and Venice.

For several months Evelyn constantly changed his residence between Venice and Padua. At this latter place the streets were in a very unsafe condition at night by reason of the licentious conduct of a large number of the students. While idling at Venice Evelyn heard of his election as *Syndicus Artistarum*, and at once hastened to Padua to refuse the honour done to him. A Dutchman was elected in his place, but his countrymen were not well pleased, as they had laboured to do him the greatest honour which could be conferred upon a foreigner.

The 31st of October (1645) being his birthday, the nuns of St. Catherine, whose convent was situated opposite to his lodgings, sent him some flowers of silk work as a present.

In this same month he bought three thousand pounds weight of excellent grapes, and made his own wine, which turned out, he tells us, "incomparable liquor." It was intended for winter provision, but on Twelfth day (1646) he invited all the English and Scots in Padua to a feast, which sunk the "excellent wine considerably."

While staying at Padua he nearly lost his life by an attack of *angina pectoris*, caused by drinking wine cooled with snow and ice. He was attended by the famous Dr. John Veslingius, whose anatomy lectures he afterwards attended. In March, 1646, he purchased some tables of veins, arteries, and nerves from Ves-

His tables of veins.

lingius, which he had himself seen taken out of human bodies at Padua. These four tables were the work of Fabritius Bartoletus, the assistant of Veslingius, and afterwards physician to the King of Poland. They were not ready until after Evelyn had left Padua, and he gave instructions to the consul to pay 150 scudi for them and to send them to England. By some mistake they were sent to Holland and kept there for a time. As the first things of the kind that had been seen in England, they attracted much attention, and Evelyn was very proud of these tables, which he called *Tabulæ Evelinianæ*. Charles II. came to Sayes Court and saw them "with great satisfaction;" Moulins, the celebrated surgeon, admired them, and Dr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Scarborough pressed Evelyn to present them to the College of Physicians, so that he might lecture upon their use, but Evelyn did not wish to give them up and was content to lend them. In October, 1668, he presented them to the Royal Society, and William Cowper, the surgeon, read a description of them in 1702 before the Society.[1]

In March, 1646, Evelyn left Venice finally, in

[1] "An Account of several Schemes of Arteries and Veins, dissected from adult Human Bodies, and given to the Repository of the Royal Society by John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S. By William Cowper, F.R.S." "Phil. Trans.," vol. xxiii. p. 1177 (No. 280). Hutton's Abridgment, vol. iv. p. 680.

The Tables are described in Grew's "Catalogue of the Rarities belonging to the Royal Society," 1686, p. 4. When the Royal Society removed to Somerset House they were forced to part with their museum, as there was no room for it in their new apartments, so it was handed over to the British Museum. The College of Physicians possess some dissections of the same kind which are believed to have been presented by Harvey, but Evelyn claims that his tables were "the first of that kind seen there (in England), and for aught I know in the world, though afterwards there were others."

Now Dr. Scarborough was a personal friend of Harvey's, and it seems strange that he should not have known of the great physi-

company with Waller the poet, who had escaped from England after some of his colleagues had been hanged by the rebels. At Milan our diarist had an adventure. While he and some friends were walking in the streets of that city, a cavalier looked earnestly at them on hearing the English language spoken, and shortly afterwards sent them by a servant an invitation to dine with him. He was a Scotch Colonel with a high command in the city, and he lived in a noble palace. He told his visitors that English travellers seldom passed through the city for fear of the Inquisition, but that he always invited those that did to his house. They were sumptuously treated and left the house loaded with gifts, but before leaving, the Colonel took them to his stable, and being rather exhilarated with wine he mounted a fiery horse, which crushed him against the wall, so that he was taken to his bed speechless. When Evelyn and his friends departed two days after, they left their noble entertainer dead.

He passes through Milan.

They then came to the foot of the Alps and passed over to Geneva. Evelyn gives a very vivid picture of the journey, which was then one of difficult accomplishment. After travelling along some hundreds of miles of level country, he came suddenly to the mountains, and remarks that nature seemed to have swept up the rubbish of the earth in the Alps, to form and clear the plains of Lombardy. Bears and wolves abounded in the rocky fastnesses, and the accommo-

He crosses the Alps.

cian's preparations had they been in existence, and he could not have known of them or he would not have importuned Evelyn for his.

Mr. Alfred H. Huth possesses a description of the *Tabulæ Evelinianæ*, drawn up for the information of Mr. Cowper by Evelyn in his own handwriting and signed by him. This interesting MS. was very kindly brought under my notice by Mr. Huth.

dation for travellers being of the most meagre description, there was some excuse when they spoke of the "horrid mountains."

At Beveretta Evelyn arrived tired and weary, and caused his hostess's daughter to be removed from her bed that he might rest; but he paid dearly for his impatience, for on his arrival at Geneva he fell sick of the small-pox, and concluded that this girl had only lately recovered from that disease. At Geneva he was attended by a learned physician (Mons. Le Chat), who bled and purged him and applied leeches, and would have bled him again had not the spots appeared, to his great surprise. Evelyn recovered better than might have been expected, and at the end of the year he returned to Paris. Here he again visited Sir Richard Browne, with whom and his family he had contracted a great friendship. He set himself to various studies: he learnt German and Spanish, and dancing, which he says was not in much reputation amongst the sober Italians. In January, 1647, he attended a course of chemistry under Mons. Le Febure, who was afterwards chemist to Charles II.; and also learnt the lute. He had previously learnt the theorbo at Padua. On Thursday, 27th June, 1647, he was married by Dr. John Earle (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury) to Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Browne, in the chapel attached to Sir Richard's house in Paris. As his travels were now ended it may be interesting to note what their cost had been, and we can learn this from a letter which he wrote to his nephew on 30th March, 1664. He says that when he travelled he kept a servant, sometimes two, engaged several masters, and made no inconsider-

He catches the small-pox at Beveretta.

He returns to Paris.

His marriage.

Cost of his travels.

able collection of antiquities, all within £300 per annum.

His newly-married wife was at this time a mere child, and when after an absence of four years he returned to England, he left her "under the care of an excellent lady and prudent mother."

He returns to England.

On the 10th of October, 1647, he kissed the captive King's hand at Hampton Court, and gave him an account of certain things he had in charge to tell. He then went to see Sayes Court at Deptford, which belonged to Sir Richard Browne and was kept by Mr. Pretyman, brother of Lady Browne. About this time he commenced a secret correspondence with his father-in-law, which was carried on until the middle of 1649. The signature he principally adopted was *Aplanos*, the corruption of a Greek word expressive of the constancy of his opinions. The fictitious address was to "Mr. Peters" and to "Mr. Kibble." The cypher used was an ingenious one, and will be found among the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum (No. 15,837). Numbers 1 to 63 represent the alphabet, and 64 to 100 are treated as nullities. Two numbers are appropriated to the consonants and five to the vowels. It is as follows :—

Correspondence with Sir Richard Browne.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	W	X	Y	Z
13	14	15	16	17	18	1	2	3	4	5	6	19	20	21	22	23	24	7	8	9	10	11	12
37	38	39	40	41	42	25	26	27	28	29	30	43	44	45	46	47	48	31	32	33	34	35	36
49				52				55					58						61				
50				53				56					59						62				
51				54				57					60						63				

Evelyn seems to have had a fancy for purchasing estates he did not require, and we find him on one

or two occasions buying places which he soon afterwards disposed of. In May, 1648, he sold the impropriation of South Malling, near Lewes, to Mr. Kemp and Mr. Alcock for £3,000, and in the following June he purchased the manor of Hurcott in Worcestershire, from his brother George, for £3,300, which he sold again in December of the same year for an advance of £100.

In July, 1648, he sat for his portrait to Walker, the celebrated painter, who introduced a death's-head into the picture. In November he stood godfather to his niece Mary, daughter of his brother George, and presented a piece of plate of the value of £18 as a christening present. In December he got privately into the council of the rebel army at Whitehall, where he says he "heard horrid villanies." In January, 1648-49, he took up his residence at Sayes Court, and in the same month his first publication was issued. This was a translation from the French of an essay by François de La Mothe Le Vayer, on Liberty, and Servitude. Evelyn was over-bold in his reference to the captive King in the preface, where he says that neither the author nor the translator understood by liberty "that *impostoria pila*, so frequently of late exhibited and held forth to the people, whilst (in the meane time) indeed it is thrown into the hands of a few private persons;" and after referring to the equal and excellent government in Charles's halcyon days, he adds, "If therefore we were once the most happy of subjects, why do we thus attempt to render ourselves the most miserable of slaves? God is one, and it is better to obey one than many." In his own copy of this little volume, he wrote the following pencil note: "I was like to be call'd in question by the Rebells for this booke, being

Portrait by Walker.

His first publication.

published a few days before his Majesty's decollation."

Evelyn was not present at the execution of Charles I., but he heard the account of the sad event from his brother George and Mr. Owen, who came to visit him in the afternoon of the fatal day. While all things seemed dark to him in England he had cause for anxiety respecting his wife, as Paris was then strictly besieged by the Prince de Condé. He wrote a letter of consolation to her, and a few days afterwards his wife's uncle arrived from France, the expected bearer of a portrait of Mrs. Evelyn, by Bourdon. Great, however, was Evelyn's disappointment on finding that the uncle had been robbed at sea by Dunkirk pirates, and the portrait taken from him. There seemed little hope of retrieving it, yet in February, 1652, when Evelyn was at Calais, he had the good fortune to learn that the Count de la Strade, Governor of Dunkirk, had bought the portrait from the pirates. When the Count found out to whom it rightly belonged, he generously sent it over to Dover as a gift to Evelyn.

Mrs. Evelyn's portrait by Bourdon.

On the 12th of May, 1649, Evelyn purchased the manor of Warley Magna, in Essex, but it turned out a very unsatisfactory purchase for "the taxes were so intolerable that they eat up the rents, &c., surcharged as that county had been above all others during our unnatural war," and he was glad to sell it in September, 1655, for £2,600, to Mr. Hurt.

About midsummer, 1649, he arranged to go to France, and obtained a pass from Bradshaw the Regicide, then in great power, probably through the means of his Oxford tutor, who was a relation of the President of the Council.[1]

[1] A copy of the passport obtained in the following year is printed in vol. ii. p. 17.

Before leaving England he went to Putney and took views of it and other places on the Thames, intending to have them engraved in France. On the 13th of July he left Dover for Calais, and on the 1st of August he came to Paris after having been absent from his wife a year and a half. There is little to record of his life at this time, but an interesting incident occurred in the following year. On the 7th of May, 1650, he, his wife, and mother-in-law, the Earl of Chesterfield, and Lord Ossory went to visit Vambre, a place famous for the production of butter. Lord Ossory, being hot-spirited in character, had an altercation with a man in a garden, who thrust his Lordship from the gate with uncivil language. The man was made to apologize, but soon afterwards the party were followed by a crowd and had to fight, and then surrender. The Court of France was appealed to, and redress was obtained, but Lord Ossory said that of all the conflicts he had been in this was the most serious, and he believed that he never was in so much danger as when the people rose against them. He called it the *bataille de Vambre.*

His views.

Visits Paris.

The battle of Vambre.

On the 13th of June Evelyn sat to the famous engraver Robert Nanteuil, who engraved his portrait in copper. He mentions this portrait in his *Sculptura*, and expresses his pride at being one of those who were rendered famous by the engraver's burin. In a note he refers to the catalogue of Nanteuil's works in Florent Le Comte's *Singularitez d'Architecture*, and alludes to what he calls the "impertinent mistake" of that writer:—"Yvelin, dit le petit mi Lord Anglois, ou le portrait Grec parcequ'il y a du Grec au bas, où est ecrit aussi, *meliora retinete;* il est en oval."

Evelyn's portrait by Nanteuil

In this same month he returned to England for a flying visit, and the description he gives of the well-armed party that set forth on their journey to Calais leaves on one's mind a vivid impression of the insecurity of French roads at this time.

His flying visit to England.

In August he again returned to Paris, having only an old passport with him, but he found at Dover that money passed him as readily as any seal of Bradshaw, and his trunk was not even opened.

His return to Paris.

In December he went to visit an impostor who had imposed upon many a pretended secret of multiplying gold, and had lived in Paris for some time in splendour, but Evelyn found him to be an egregious cheat.

In September, 1651, our diarist went to visit Hobbes of Malmesbury, and from his window in Paris he saw the procession when the young Louis XIV. (then in his fourteenth year) went to Parliament to take upon himself the kingly government, and afterwards he accompanied Sir Richard Browne to an audience with the king and his mother.

Procession of Louis XIV.

In November he visited the accomplished Sir Kenelm Digby and had a talk with him on chemical matters. He showed Digby a way of extracting oil of sulphur, and Digby gave him a powder with which he affirmed he had fixed mercury before the late King. Evelyn adds the uncomplimentary remark—"but the truth is, Sir Kenelm was an arrant mountebank."

Sir Kenelm Digby.

The decisive battle of Worcester had now been fought, and the hopes of the Royalists being quite dashed, Evelyn thought to settle in England again. Here therefore we end the vagrant portion of his life, and in the next period we shall find him leading a quiet and studious life in his native country.

II. His Settlement in England with his Wife until the Restoration.

At the beginning of the year 1652 Evelyn returned to England, and he at once published his little book, "The State of France," which he had brought with him. Prefixed to this careful account of the condition of France at that period are some valuable remarks on the uses of travel.

Evelyn's return to England.

At Deptford Evelyn made arrangements for settling in England, as he found that political affairs were not likely to mend, and that the hopes of the royalists were dead. He had been running about the world for nearly ten years, and although he could boast that he had seen much, he had more reason to be proud of the cultured mind that resulted from these travels; as he justly observes in the work just referred to—"It is written of Ulysses, that he saw many cities indeed, but with all, his remarks of men's manners and customs was ever preferred to his counting steeples and making tours."

In March he saw the magnificent funeral of "the arch rebel" Ireton, and soon afterwards went to see his brother at Wotton, and gave directions as to arrangements for the garden there.

It was settled now that his wife should come to England, and through Colonel Morley, one of the Council of State who had been his schoolfellow, he obtained a pass for her safe landing. He went down to Rye to meet her, and at eight o'clock at night on the 11th of June, the vessel came into harbour, having been three days on the voyage. Hearing that smallpox was rife in London, Evelyn took his wife and her mother to Tunbridge Wells. About the end of the

Arrival of his wife.

month he left there for London, and was waylaid near Bromley and almost murdered by a couple of cut-throats. He gives a full account of this adventure in the Diary, and tells how grievously he was tormented by flies, ants, and the sun as he lay with his hands bound behind him in that solitary place. After struggling for two hours he managed to unloose his hands and then he set his feet free. After riding to a justice in the district, he went to London and had bills printed and distributed, by means of which he got back most of his valuables.

He is attacked by ruffians.

About this time he was in treaty with Dean Cosin with the intention of buying his library, which was one of the choicest collections possessed by any private person in England; but some difficulty was made by the Dean's daughter, who thought that more money ought to have been offered for it, and nothing was settled until near the time of the Restoration, and then Cosin became bishop of the opulent see of Durham, and added his collection to the library at that place.

Dean Cosin's library.

On the 24th of August, 1652, Evelyn's first child was born, and a month afterwards Lady Browne died of scarlet fever. This son, who was named Richard, only lived long enough to give promise of great talents, and died in 1658, to the great and abiding grief of his parents.

Birth of Evelyn's first child.

In January, 1653, Evelyn sealed the writings connected with his purchase of Sayes Court, for which he paid £3,500. Charles II. promised to pass this property to him in fee farm, but when afterwards applied to in 1672 he only renewed the lease of the pastures for ninety-nine years. When the property was securely in his own possession Evelyn began to set out

Purchase of Sayes Court.

the oval garden, which he says was the beginning of all the succeeding gardens, walks, groves, enclosures, and plantations. Before he took it in hand the place was nothing but an open field of one hundred acres with scarcely a hedge in it, so that he had a fine scope for his skill in the art of horticulture.

There is an interesting little entry in the Diary under the date June 19th, 1653, which shows the diarist's care in money matters:—"This day I paid all my debts to a farthing; oh, blessed day!"

A second son, named John Stansfield, was born on the 11th October, 1653, but died on the 25th of the following January, so that when a third son was born, on January 19, 1655, he also was christened John.

Birth of a second son.

During these years of enforced quietness Evelyn occupied himself in literary pursuits, and occasionally travelled about the country in a coach and four to visit friends and relations.

In March, 1654, we find a letter from Dr. Thomas Barlow, Librarian of the Bodleian, to Evelyn, thanking him for books presented to the library; and expressing his gratitude that there were still "generous and charitable souls who dare love learning, and be good in bad times."

On the 12th May, 1656, Evelyn published his translation of the first book of Lucretius, which had not before appeared in an English dress. The translator did not see the book through the press, but left it to be corrected by Dr. Triplet, who allowed it to be issued with a large crop of misprints. Although Evelyn was ashamed of these, he was proud of having introduced the Latin poet to English readers. In the congratulatory verses which he wrote for Creech's translation, which was first published in 1683, he says:—

Translation of Lucretius.

" 'Tis true, persuaded that there was rich ore
I boldly launch'd and would new worlds explore;
'Till rugged billows and a dang'rous coast
My vent'rous bark and rash attempt had crost.
I turn'd my prow, and the discov'ry made,
But was too weak, too poor myself to trade,
Much less to make a conquest and subdue,
That glorious enterprise was left for you."

Evelyn's little volume has an especial interest in that the frontispiece was designed by Mrs. Evelyn and engraved by Hollar. The Rev. Edward Snatt, Evelyn's old schoolmaster, was delighted at receiving the work of his distinguished pupil, and poured forth his gratitude and pleasure in a glowing letter of thanks. Jeremy Taylor was not so enthusiastic, and hoped that the notes would be made to counteract the dangerous principles of the poem itself.

A sigh for solitude.

About this time Evelyn, in a momentary fit of disgust, expressed his desire for solitude in a letter to Jeremy Taylor. His active mind was sick of inaction, for the mere cultivation of the intellect was not enough for him, and he pined for public occupation. He was, however, looked upon as a happy man, and his fame as a man of culture was wide. In 1657 Dr. Rand, a learned physician, translated Gassendi's "Life of Peiresk" into English, which he entitled "The Mirrour of the true Nobility and Gentility," and dedicated to Evelyn, as one who was a model for English gentlemen. Peiresk was of great renown in his day, and Evelyn has been styled in honour the English Peiresk; but Peiresk is now forgotten, and it would probably be more appropriate to call him the French Evelyn. Dr. Rand did not know Evelyn personally, but we learn from his dedication that while in doubt as to whom he could pertinently dedicate his book, he heard Evelyn's character discussed in a bookseller's shop in Corn-

Dedication of the "Life of Peiresk" to Evelyn.

hill, and at once judged from his "Peireskian virtues" that he was the man. About the same time Francis Barlow, the artist, dedicated a plate to Evelyn.

Evelyn's communication with the exiled King.

During these years Evelyn was in the constant practice of sending abroad intelligence to Charles II., and he mentions on the 22nd October, 1657, that he had contracted a friendship with the Dutch Ambassador, who gave him information which he found of great use in his correspondence with the King. Considering all this it is remarkable that he was so little molested by the ruling powers. He had, however, his annoyances, for on May 1st, 1657, some soldiers were quartered at his house, but they went away the next day to Flanders. On Christmas-day of this same year he was attending service in Exeter Chapel, when, at the end of the sermon, the chapel was filled with soldiers, who pointed their muskets at the communicants as they stood at the altar to receive the sacrament. Some of the worshippers were marched off to prison, but Evelyn and others were questioned and allowed to depart. He was asked why he dared to "observe the superstitious time of the nativity," and other ensnaring questions; but in the end the soldiers dismissed him with much pity for his ignorance.

Church service interrupted.

Death of children.

His fourth son was born on the 7th of June, 1657, and christened George by Dr. Jeremy Taylor. In the following February this child died, a few weeks after the departure of the eldest son Richard. As a consolation in his distress Evelyn employed himself in translating from the Greek the "Golden Book of St. John Chrysostom concerning the Education of Children," which he dedicated to his two brothers to comfort them for the loss of their children. Here he enlarges on the

Translation of St. Chrysostom.

wonderful precocity of his son, who, although little above five years old, excelled many at fifteen. The child was so filled with the ardour of knowledge, that when he was told that Terence and Plautus were too difficult for him, "he wept for very grief, and would hardly be pacified." On another occasion, after he had repeated the Church Catechism to his father, he told him "that he now perceived his godfathers were disengaged, for that since he now did understand what his duty was, it would be required of him, and not of them, for the future." We are told in the Diary that he was "a prodigy for wit and understanding; for beauty of body a very angel; for endowment of mind, of incredible and rare hopes." The loss of such a son to such a father must indeed have been great, and the comfort which the apostolic Jeremy Taylor could impart was sorely needed. Taylor wrote after the death :—"If dividing and sharing griefs were like the cutting of rivers, I dare say to you, you would find your stream much abated; for I account myself to have a great cause of sorrow, not only in the diminution of the numbers of your joys and hopes, but in the loss of that pretty person, your strangely hopeful boy;" and on receiving the book, he wrote :—"I am much pleased with the 'Golden Book of St. Chrysostom,' on which your epistle hath put a black enamel, and made a pretty monument for your dearest, strangest miracle of a boy."

Translation of "The French Gardiner."

In December, 1658, Evelyn published his translation entitled "The French Gardiner," which he describes himself as "the first and best of the kind that introduced the use of the olitory garden to any purpose." It was dedicated to Thomas Henshaw, and a second edition which was issued in 1669 was re-dedicated to him.

About this time he produced his "Character of

England," which was published anonymously in 1659. It is an amusing attempt to point out the follies of the English as they might be supposed to strike a foreigner travelling in this country. Hallam commends it for the "polish and gentlemanly elegance of the style, which very few had hitherto regarded in such light compositions." This tract quickly passed through three editions, and was also translated into French, as we learn from a letter of Jeremy Taylor to Evelyn.[1]

"Character of England."

Although the nation was in a great state of confusion after the death of Cromwell, the Royalists do not appear to have indulged any particular hopes of their cause, and Evelyn's only idea of escaping from the difficulties of the situation was to propose the erection of a Philosophic and Mathematic College. In September, 1659, he communicated his scheme to the Hon. Robert Boyle, and a highly Utopian scheme it was. It was to be a sort of scientific convent, the inmates of which were to live by a rigid rule. The author had worked out his principles very thoroughly on paper, and showed the cost and the profits in some very elaborate calculations. He and his wife proposed to take two apartments (for they were to be decently asunder); but hopes of a restoration of the exiled King began now to be formed, and we hear no more of the convent. On November 7th his "Apology

Proposed Philosophic College.

[1] There has been some confusion as to the date of this tract, for in the "Miscellaneous Works" it is stated to have been originally printed in 1651; but this is a mistake, as the first edition is dated 1659. Evelyn himself appears to have been mistaken, for in the Diary, under date Dec. 22, 1660, he writes: "The Princess (Henrietta) gave my wife an extraordinary compliment and gracious acceptance, for the 'Character' she had presented her the day before, and which was afterwards printed."

for the Royal Party" was printed, at a time when, he says in his Diary, it was capital to speak or write in favour of the King. The pamphlet, however, was successful, and went through two editions. Shortly afterwards he made overtures to Colonel Morley with the desire of inducing him to embrace the King's cause, and the negotiations were opened by the presentation of this "Apology." Morley was not equal to the occasion, and he allowed Monk to do what he might well have done himself, as from his position as Lieutenant of the Tower, and from his general influence, he was in a peculiarly favourable position for acting the part of restorer of the monarchy.

"Apology for the Royal Party."

Colonel Morley cannot be induced to bring in the King.

About this time Evelyn had projected his "Elysium Britannicum," and Jeremy Taylor wrote to him on the subject in February, 1660, and suggested that the title should be "Paradisus" rather than "Elysium." In April, 1660, when Evelyn was suffering from a severe illness, he set to work to write an answer and antidote to a paper entitled "News from Brussels," which pretended to be an intercepted letter from a member of the exiled Court of Charles to a cavalier in London, and represented the temper of the King and his courtiers as exasperated by the injuries they had received, and ready to revenge them at the first opportunity. The pamphlet entitled "The late News from Brussels Unmasked" was successful in the object of exposing the calumnies of the first publication; and the author, standing in the Strand, watched the King's entry into London with a joyful heart.

"Elysium Britannicum."

"News from Brussels Unmasked."

Here ends the second division of Evelyn's life, and from this time until his death we find him leading a life of active employment.

III. The Period from the Restoration till his Death.

Evelyn was in high favour at Court, and in these early days of the Restoration, when a new departure was taken, all things looked bright and promising. A pardon was obtained for Colonel Morley, who, had he been wise, might have occupied the place which was filled by the Duke of Albemarle; Sir Richard Browne returned to England after nineteen years of exile; and Colonel Spencer offered Evelyn a commission for a troop of horse, with power to nominate his own lieutenant and ensigns, but he declined the honour.

In December, 1660, Boyle, Oldenburg, Denham, Ashmole, and Evelyn were elected Fellows of the newly-founded Royal Society, and in the following January Evelyn was one of those whom the King nominated as members of the Council. From this time forward the records of the Society prove how constant an attendant he was at the meetings. At one time he is desired to show his "Catalogue of Trades," and at the next meeting to bring a "History of Engraving and Etching." Now he is to make experiments with the powder of sympathy, and at another time, when some rain that fell at Norwich like corn is shown, he and Robert Boyle are desired to sow some of this rained seed and see what comes of it. He had already studied the anatomy of trees, and he laid before the Society some observations on the subject which he afterwards so fully discussed in his "Sylva." One of the subjects upon which he experimented, which has an interest for the biologists of to-day, is noticed as follows:—"Mr. Evelyn gave some account of the experiment recommended to him, of putting some

The Royal Society.

flesh and blood in a vessel covered with flannel, in order to see what insects it would breed"—"and he observed that it had hitherto bred nothing." "He was desired to continue and prosecute this experiment."

Mrs. Evelyn.

One evening in March, 1661, the King promised to make Mrs. Evelyn lady of the jewels to the future Queen, which was a very honourable charge, but like many other of his promises this engagement was never performed. Immediately before the coronation a batch of knights of the Bath were made, and Evelyn was asked to be one of them, but on this as on several other occasions he declined the honour intended for him. For the occasion of the coronation on St. George's day Evelyn prepared a poetical panegyric, and when the King heard that it was coming he grew a little anxious at the thoughts of having to listen to a long oration. He therefore sent word through Lord Mordaunt that he should be glad to receive it when he had dined, but "he hoped that it would not be very long." It consisted of 168 lines of fulsome praise in bombastic verse, of which this is a good specimen :—

Honours declined.

At Court.

> "When now our Royal Charles, as good as great,
> Hath chose this day t' ascend the royal seat ;"

We are then told that his foes are dismayed if he dares to stir, and that Europe owns him for her arbiter.

The Evelyns were frequently at Court, and were received with great consideration there. On May 11th, 1661, Mrs. Evelyn presented to the King a miniature of the Madonna which she had copied from a painting of Oliver's after Raphael. His Majesty was very pleased with it, and caused it to be placed in his

cabinet among his best paintings. Two days after the King discoursed with Evelyn about the Royal Society, the planet Saturn, and various other matters while he sat at supper.

"Fumifugium: or the inconvenience of the Aer and Smoak of London dissipated," was now prepared and dedicated to the King, who was pleased that it should be published by his special command. In this book the disadvantages of coal are pointed out, and it is stated that when Newcastle was besieged and coals were scarce, fruits flourished in the gardens of the Strand and the Barbican. The author remembered the odours that had delighted him on the coasts of Genoa, and suggested that sweet-smelling trees should be planted in London for the purpose of purifying the air. It has been supposed that the lime trees in St. James's Park were planted in consequence of this suggestion. We must class this supposed remedy with the proposal laughingly chronicled by Evelyn himself of a certain Sir Politic, who during the raging of the plague in London would have had a vessel freighted with peeled onions pass along the Thames when the wind was in a favourable quarter in order to attract the pollution of the air. It was then to sail away with the infection to the sea. The King was much pleased with the book, and commanded the author to prepare a Bill for the next session of Parliament, as he was resolved to have something done. In the following year Sir Peter Ball, the Queen's attorney, made a draft of an Act against the nuisance, which was to be reformed by the removal of the several trades that caused the smoke. By this time it may be conjectured that Charles's interest in the scheme had oozed away. He was too fond of pleasure to think long on one subject. One of his chief amusements was to sail

"Fumifugium."

on the river, and the Dutch East India Company's present to him of some elegant yachts therefore gave him great satisfaction. On the 1st of October, 1661, there was a race between the King and the Duke of York from Greenwich to Gravesend and back. The King, who sometimes steered, lost the race going, the wind being contrary, but saved his stakes in returning. Evelyn was honoured with a place, and breakfasted and dined with the King. There is a good story told of the first Earl of Burlington in connection with these sailing excursions. It is necessary to premise that Roger Boyle, the eldest son of the great Earl of Cork, died at Sayes Court, and was buried in Deptford parish church. The courtiers often noticed that Lord Burlington pulled off his hat when the boat passed Deptford, and on one occasion some of them asked him what he meant by this action, to which he answered, "Do you see that steeple there? Have I not reason to pay a respect to the place where my elder brother lies buried, by which I enjoy the earldom of Cork?"

Sailing race.

The Swedish ambassador landed at Tower Wharf on the 30th of September, 1661, when a serious encounter took place between the French and Spanish ambassadors in their attempts to obtain precedence of each other. When the King was talking to Evelyn in his yacht on the following day, he commanded him to draw up an account of the encounter, and to consult Sir William Compton, Master of the Ordnance, and Sir Charles Berkeley on the matter. On 2nd October Evelyn waited on the King with his account and read it him. During the reading the Secretary of State came in, and the King wished to send him away, but Sir William Morice urged the importance of his business, and Evelyn had to wait a short time. When some clauses had been added

Fray between the French and Spanish ambassadors.

which the King suggested, the narrative was sent to the Secretary of State for transmission to the Earl of St. Alban's, ambassador at Paris, that night. It was afterwards printed.

In November Evelyn published his translation of "Naudæus concerning Libraries," which he dedicated to Lord Chancellor Clarendon. This is an interesting little book, and one cannot but be surprised at Pepys's remark that he had read it but found it above his reach. He considered the dedication, however, to be "a very fine piece."[1] This book, like most of its predecessors, was incorrectly printed. In December Evelyn was thanked by the Royal Society "for having done honour to the Company in an excellent panegyrick to the King's Majesty, and since in an epistle dedicatorie to the Lord Chancellor, in which the Company and its design are most affectionately recommended to the King and his lordship." About this time was published "Tyrannus, or The Mode," a trifle in which Evelyn advocated a peculiar kind of costume, the like of which the King adopted some few years afterwards at his Court. We are told in the Diary of a little incident which took place in the King's closet on a certain evening in January, 1662. Samuel Cooper, the famous portrait painter, was commissioned to draw Charles's face and head for the new milled money which was about to be coined, and he chose to work at night, so that he might take advantage of the strong shadows. Evelyn had the honour, as he says, of holding the candle, and the King the while discoursed on various matters relating to painting and engraving. This has formed the subject of a cabinet picture by the late academician Maclise. The subject which the King chose was

Naudé on Libraries.

"Tyrannus."

[1] Pepys's Diary, October 5, 1665.

no new one to Evelyn. A year before the Royal Society had recommended him to publish what he had written on chalcography, and shortly afterwards Prince Rupert explained to him his newly-invented process of *mezzo tinto*. Early in the year 1662 appeared "Sculptura, or the History and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper," which was dedicated to the Hon. Robert Boyle, who had urged the author to undertake the work. This was the first essay on the subject of engraving published in England, and the author did good work in gathering from foreign authors the chief facts known in his day and putting them forth in a handy form; but his account of the "new manner of engraving, or mezzo tinto," is a most unsatisfactory performance. Prince Rupert imparted his secret to Evelyn, and was willing that it should be explained in the "Sculptura;" but while pretending to explain the latter presented his readers with a riddle. Horace Walpole writes in his "Catalogue of Engravers:" "One cannot help wondering that so beneficent a nature as Mr. Evelyn's should juggle with mankind, when the inventor himself had consented that the new art should be made public."

"Sculptura."

Evelyn now obtained his first public appointment, and in May, 1662, was chosen one of the Commissioners for reforming the buildings, ways, streets, and incumbrances, and regulating the hackney coaches in the city of London. This was a much-needed commission, but it does not appear that the Commissioners did much. Evelyn went to see how St. Martin's Lane might be made more passable into the Strand, but the complicated collection of courts in the vicinity of St. Martin's Church remained for more than a century after this. Something was done in July, when St. James's Street, which was a quagmire, and

Commission for reforming the streets.

the neighbourhood of the Haymarket about Piccadilly (Piqudillo) were ordered to be paved; and it was agreed that instructions should be printed and published for the better keeping the streets clean. About the same time Evelyn was appointed on a commission of charitable uses for the purpose of inquiring how the revenues of Gresham College had been disposed of, and why the salaries of the professors were not improved. Although the Bishop of London, the Lord Chief Justice, and the Attorney-General were on this commission, they were unable to place this sadly mismanaged college on a satisfactory basis, and what might have grown into a noble university has been allowed to sink into what it now is. Other Commissions upon which Evelyn sat about this time were one of Sewers and one to consider the regulation of the Mint, but he was not fully employed on public business until 1664, when he had to deal with the sick and wounded in the Dutch war. This, however, we shall come to further on.

Gresham College.

Other Commissions.

The beauties of Sayes Court came to be talked about, and the great people were anxious to see the house and gardens, so we find the Duke of York coming first, then the Queen Mother and the Earl of St. Albans, and the Lord Chancellor Clarendon the day after them. The King himself soon afterwards visited Deptford, and did not leave till he had been into every room in the house.

Royal visits to Sayes Court.

There is a letter from Evelyn to Mr. Vander Douse, "grandson to the great Janus Dousa," dated 13th September, 1662, from which it appears that he had taken the trouble to translate that person's "Relation of China," and afterwards recommended that it

Vander Douse on China.

should not be printed, for the reason that there were already several books on the same subject.

Royal Society.

August, 1662, was an important month in the history of the Royal Society, for on the 13th the Charter passed the Great Seal, and on the 29th the Council and Fellows went in a body to Whitehall to thank the King, when Lord Brouncker, the President, made an eloquent speech and his Majesty a gracious reply. On the following day they went to the Lord Chancellor to acknowledge his goodness in promoting the patent. Evelyn suggested various designs for arms and several mottoes, but the King saved the society the trouble of decision on these by granting them the use of the royal arms. The motto chosen was *Nullius in verba*, which is not very intelligible without the context from Horace, and one cannot but feel that Evelyn's own favourite motto *Omnia explorate, meliora retinete* would have been more appropriate, as the main object of the society was to try all things.

"Sylva,"

We have now arrived at the period when Evelyn was preparing the materials for his greatest work, the renowned "Sylva." After the Restoration great attention was directed to the increase in the number of our ships and the principal officers and commissioners of the navy found some difficulty in obtaining the wood which they required for their purposes. There had long been a serious destruction of timber caused by the glass-works, the iron furnaces, and partly by the increase of shipping, and this destruction had culminated during the period of the civil wars. Not only was destruction rampant, but cultivation was neglected. In its difficulty the Navy Office propounded certain queries to the Royal Society, who gave them to Evelyn to answer. Thus originated this noble work, which revived the spirit of planting in Eng-

land and exerted an enormous influence upon the future of the country. On the 15th of October, 1662, Evelyn delivered his "Discourse concerning Forest Trees" to the Royal Society, but in the fifteen months that elapsed before its publication, in 1664, he probably largely added to its bulk. The work is a storehouse of all kinds of information relating to trees, in which facts and legends are mixed together, so that lovers of a scientific method may be inclined to object to its form. In spite, however, of the miscellaneous character of the contents, it is a book that will never be out of date, because it is pervaded by a spirit of enthusiasm for a grand object which cannot fail to enflame the mind of the reader. The plan adopted by the author is first to describe each important tree and then to give general precepts on planting, and hints, interspersed with anecdotes, on the best modes of procedure. We are told that in Frankfort a young farmer must produce a certificate that he has set a number of walnut trees before he has leave to marry; and that in the Duke of Luxemburg's country no farmer is permitted to fell a timber tree without making it appear that he has planted another. If the enemies of England desire to deprive her of wood, it should surely be the aim of her friends to foster its growth; and that her enemies had that desire we know, for the Spanish Commanders of the Armada of 1588 were enjoined, if on landing they were unable to subdue the nation, not to leave a tree standing in the Forest of Dean, thus adopting the policy of the Philistine, "lest the English build them ships and men of war." Evelyn appeals to the landowners to improve their forests and woods, and, paraphrasing the words of Nehemiah, he cries, "Let us arise, then, and plant."—"To you Princes, Dukes, Earls, Lords, Knights, and gentlemen, noble patriots (as most concerned) I speak to encourage and

animate a work so glorious, so necessary." The appeal, and the inducement which may be put shortly in Wither's words—

> "He that delights to plant and set
> Makes after ages in his debt,"

had their effect, and Evelyn could say in his dedication to the King,—"Many millions of timber trees have been propagated and planted at the instigation and by the sole direction of this work."

Dr. Wotton, when setting modern before ancient learning in his famous "Reflections," declares, "It may therefore perhaps be esteemed a small character of Mr. Evelyn's discourse of forest trees to say that it outdoes all that Theophrastus and Pliny have left us on that subject, for it not only does that and a great deal more, but contains more useful precepts, hints, and discoveries upon that now so necessary a part of our 'Res Rustica' than the world had till then known, for all the observations of former ages. To name others after him would be a derogation to his performance." Isaac Disraeli ends a glowing description by saying, "Inquire at the Admiralty how the fleets of Nelson have been constructed, and they can tell you that it was with the oaks which the genius of Evelyn planted." Tusser, who lived in the middle of the sixteenth century, complained that men were "more studious to cut down than to plant trees," and the destruction went on increasing. The spirit of planting was revived by the publication of Evelyn's book, and it was again brought into action by the Society of Arts in the middle of the eighteenth century, when they offered premiums to those who planted the most extensively.

"Sylva" was a source of considerable profit to its publishers, for the author gave the copyright to Allestry, the printer to the Royal Society, and it afterwards came into the hands of Chiswell and

Bentley. Evelyn offered to give additions for the fourth edition on condition that the publishers allowed Benjamin Tooke, for whom he says he had a particular kindness, to have a share.[1]

About the time the book was published the author carried his own principles into practice by planting a large number of elms at Sayes Court. The year 1664 was a busy one for Evelyn. Besides publishing "Sylva," he brought out his "Kalendarium Hortense," and the translation of Freart's "Parallel between Antient and Modern Architecture." The "Kalendar" was most favourably received, and passed through many editions. Besides being the foundation of all such books upon gardening, it is interesting as having drawn forth Cowley's elegant essay and poem on "The Garden." The book on Architecture was produced with exquisite taste, and received the special commendation of the King, who could talk with intelligence upon this, as upon most other subjects. His Majesty took Evelyn aside and drew a plan for the future palace of Whitehall, showing the rooms of state and other particulars in illustration of his views.

"Kalendarium Hortense."

Freart on Architecture.

In October, 1664, Evelyn was appointed one of the Commissioners to take care of such sick and wounded and prisoners of war as might be expected on account of the war just declared with Holland, an appointment that gave him much serious employment. His brother Commissioners were Sir William Doily, Sir Thomas Clifford, and Bullein Rheymes. In the following month they chose a treasurer, clerks, and messengers, and began to meet in Painters' Hall. Evelyn directed that the seal should be the good Samaritan, and the motto *Fac*

Commission for the Care of the Sick and Wounded.

[1] "Bentley Correspondence," p. 135.

similiter. Each Commissioner had his particular district, and Evelyn's was Kent and Sussex. On Ash Wednesday, 1665, he visits his prisoners at Chelsea Hospital, to see how they were cared for, and he finds their only complaint to be that the bread is too fine. Then he is writing to the Duke of Albemarle from Dover Castle, asking for permission to send his prisoners there to Chelsea. His Grace tells him that "when we have filled all the gaols in the country with our prisoners, if they be not sufficient to contain them, as they sent our men to the East Indies last year, we will send them to the West this year as a retaliation."

In May Evelyn is called into the Council Chamber before the King, and tells how the expenses of the Commission are not less than £1,000 a week. In June he moves for £20,000, and obtains the use of Savoy Hospital, where he fits up fifty beds. The plague was now raging, and in August he sent his wife and family to Wotton, while he stayed at home to look after his charge "trusting in the providence and goodness of God." He was left single-handed to deal with the vast business of providing for the sick and wounded prisoners; and it is interesting to remember that the two friends Evelyn and Pepys (whose names are so frequently linked together in popular association) both stood to their duty in the plague-stricken city when others fled. There was little similarity in the characters of the two men, but in this they were alike, that they were not "afraid for the terror by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day. Nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday." And the promised reward was theirs: "A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee."

When the Court returned from Oxford to Hampton

Court, in January, 1666, the King ran forward to meet Evelyn, and thanked him publicly for his care and faithfulness in a time of such danger, when most officials had fled from their employments. The Duke of York also thanked him, and both said they had often thought of him in his peril.

On September 17th he received news of Lord Sandwich's defeat of the Dutch, and learned that 3,000 prisoners had been sent to him to dispose of, but he did not know what to do with them. He soon afterwards went to the Cockpit with the Duke of York, on a visit to the Duke of Albemarle, and was peremptory in his demands for £10,000, without which the prisoners must starve. He proposed the erection of an infirmary at Chatham, and took great pains in drawing up an elaborate estimate of the cost, which he sent to Pepys. The Commissioners of the Navy encouraged the scheme, but they had no money, and it came to nothing. The want of funds was Evelyn's great difficulty, for his weekly expenses reached £7,000. When the *London* frigate was blown up, and 200 men were lost in it, he was surrounded by a host of women, who made moan over their loss. He felt for them, but could not relieve them all; so he counselled them to make choice of some discreet person to represent their losses and expectations, when their case would be considered without clamour and disturbance. This Commission was Evelyn's most onerous public employment, and he came out of it with loss to himself. Money was still owing to him long after the Revolution, and he had to petition for his rights as late as March, 1702. Then some of his just charges were disallowed.[1]

We will now turn back a little, to gather up a few of the minor facts of our hero's life about this time.

[1] See "Notes and Queries," 2nd Ser. ix. p. 257.

Robbery.

On the 15th of February, 1663, his house was broken into, and he was robbed of plate, money, and goods to the value of £60, which, he tells us, was the third time he had been so plundered.

Tutors for Evelyn's son.

In October he engaged Edward Phillips to be his son's tutor, and he notes in his Diary that although Phillips was Milton's nephew, and had been brought up by him, yet that his principles had not been infected by those of the poet who wrote against Salmasius's "Defensio." In February Phillips left to become preceptor to Lord Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke's son, and shortly after Evelyn wrote to Christopher Wren to inquire after another tutor, to whom he would give a salary of £20 a year. He subsequently obtained the services of Ralph Bohun, Fellow of New College, Oxford, through the recommendation of Dr. Wilkins.

On the 1st of October, 1665, his first daughter was born, after he had had six sons, one of whom only survived.

Royal Society.

As already remarked, we find him to have been a very regular attendant at the meetings of the Royal Society. On St. Andrew's Day (November 30th), 1663, was held the first anniversary of the Society, when each Fellow wore a St. Andrew's cross of ribbon on the crown of his hat. After the election of officers, the Fellows dined together on venison, which was supplied by the King. We get some information from the Diary as to the subjects which were brought forward at the meetings. On the 8th of June, 1664, the King sent the horn of a fish, which struck a dangerous hole in the keel of a ship in the Indian Sea, and being broken off and left in the timber, preserved the vessel from foundering. On the 5th of October a new musical

instrument was exhibited, "being a harpsichord with gut strings, sounding like a concert, of viols with an organ, made vocal by a wheel, and a zone of parchment that rubbed horizontally against the strings." The Society was also greatly interested in the double-bottomed ship invented by their member Sir William Petty, which Evelyn saw launched on the 22nd of December, when it was named the *Experiment* by the King.

"Mystery of Jesuitism."

On the 2nd of January, 1665, Evelyn published his translation of a continuation of the "Provincial Letters," entitled "Another Part of the Mystery of Jesuitism," for which the King shortly afterwards gave him thanks, at the same time saying that he had carried it in his pocket for two days, much to the surprise of the translator, who did not know how he had got the copy.

"Thyrsander."

In a letter to Lord Cornbury, eldest son of the first Earl of Clarendon, dated February 9th, 1664-65, Evelyn mentions "Thyrsander, a Tragi-comedy," which still remains in MS., but appears to have been intended by its author as a protest against the licentiousness of the stage.

Improvement of the English language.

About this time the Royal Society turned their attention to the important question of the improvement of the English language, and a Committee (upon which we find such eminent men as Dryden, Waller, Evelyn, Godolphin, Sprat, Southwell, Williamson, and Matthew Wren) was formed to consider the subject. Evelyn was too much employed to attend the meetings of the Committee, but he wrote a very sensible letter to Sir Peter Wyche, the chairman, in which he suggested among other things the compilation of a Grammar and a Dictionary, and

systematic curtailment of superfluous letters. He appears, however, to have held the common opinion that it was possible for the learned to rule what words should be added to and what words should be expunged from the English language. The experience of modern nations has been entirely against this supposed power of controlling the formation and growth of a language, and we have had abundant evidence that words, if they but happen to meet the popular fancy, will make themselves heard, and obtain a firm position in our language in spite of the censure and snubbing which they may meet with from the ruling authorities in taste and philology.

In April, 1666, the King told Evelyn that he must be sworn a Justice of the Peace, but this office he had hitherto industriously avoided, and he prayed his Majesty to excuse him. The King therefore commanded him to nominate a Justice in his place, and send word to the Lord Chancellor immediately. In July he was appointed a member of the Commission for regulating the farming and making of saltpetre [1] and gunpowder, which sat in the Tower; and in August he tried to induce the Lord Chancellor to visit the Hospital of the Savoy and reduce it to its original institution for the benefit of the poor. Lord Clarendon promised to follow this advice. On the 25th of August he was chosen one of the three surveyors of the repairs necessary at St. Paul's, and on the 27th a party went to survey the venerable pile. A majority decided that the foundations were unsafe, and that it would be well to erect a new building, suggesting at the same time "to build it with a noble cupola, a form of church-building not as yet known

Commission on Saltpetre.

Evelyn is appointed surveyor of St. Paul's.

[1] A copy of the Proclamation appointing the Commission will be found in Add. MS. 15,948, f. 124 (British Museum).

in England, but of wonderful grace." A few days after occurred the great fire, which saved them the trouble of any further debates by destroying the cathedral and everything surrounding it. This overwhelming calamity has found an excellent chronicler in Evelyn, who devotes many pages to a vivid description of what he saw. He speaks with enthusiasm of the vigilance and activity of the King and the Duke, who laboured themselves, and were present to command, order, reward, or encourage the workmen.

Fire of London.

What a scene of distress must have been exhibited in Moorfields and the roads to Islington and Highgate, where 200,000 people of all ranks and degrees were gathered together with such goods as they could collect, and ready to perish with hunger! All were quiet and orderly until a report was spread (no one knew by whom) that the French and Dutch had not only landed but were entering the city. Then all was tumult and confusion. Men and women left their goods and sought for weapons, falling upon any foreigners they met. It was found necessary to send soldiers to drive them back into the fields again and to watch them all the night.

Evelyn at once saw the opportunity the fire offered for the erection of an improved city, planned with proper regard for beauty and convenience, and presented to the King a scheme for rebuilding London, which met with His Majesty's approval. Like the proposals of Wren and Hooke, it remained a paper plan, and the new town rose upon the lines of the old one.

Proposal for rebuilding London.

It seems probable that Charles II. was prompted by Evelyn's little pamphlet entitled "Tyrannus" to undertake a reform in English clothing. Pepys heard that on the 7th of October, 1666, the King declared

to his Council "his resolution of setting a fashion for clothes which he will never alter," by which means he would break the tyranny of the French fashion. On the 15th Pepys saw several members of the Houses of Lords and Commons in the new dress, which he describes as "being a long cassock, close to the body, of black cloth, and pinked with white silk under it, and a coat over it and the legs ruffled with black riband like a pigeon's leg." Evelyn adopted the costume, which he calls the Persian mode, on the 30th, but he thought it too good to last, and several of the courtiers wagered the King that he would not keep to this resolution. Louis XIV. was not well pleased with this English revolt, and hit upon an ingenious expedient to disgust the rebels against the French laws of taste. He caused his footmen to be put into the new vests, and the French noblemen threatened to do the same. This indignity, which seems to have given the hint for Steele's story of Brunetta and Phillis, in the "Spectator" (No. 80), probably had the effect intended, for we hear no more of Charles II.'s unalterable costume.

Change of costume at Court.

The great fire destroyed so much literature that certain books were very much enhanced in price, and there was great need of a judicious system of reprinting. Evelyn wrote a letter to Lord Clarendon in November, 1666, on the want of good editions of the classics, in which he suggested the publication of a well printed and well edited series of these works. In this same month his chariot was overturned on the steep of Bexley Hill, when he was wounded in two places on the head.

Proposed new editions of the classics.

Henry Howard of Norfolk, who was created Lord Howard in 1669, and succeeded as the sixth Duke of

Norfolk in 1677, invited the Royal Society to meet at Arundel House in the Strand, when they had lost the use of their accustomed meeting-place (Gresham College), which was required by the City authorities after the great fire. He also, at the suggestion of Evelyn, presented his library to the Society, and afterwards gave the Arundel marbles to the University of Oxford. With the library were presented to the Royal Society a large collection of valuable manuscripts, and these the University coveted. Evelyn was induced to plead for their transfer, and a promise was obtained from the Royal Society that they would give them up or retain them as the donor wished. It is not known what action Howard took in the matter, but the manuscripts remained in the possession of the Royal Society until the early part of the present century, when they were deposited in the British Museum, and printed books received by the Society in exchange. Howard took no interest in the treasures he possessed, and he allowed the antiquities that his grandfather had collected with great cost and difficulty to lie about with every risk of being broken and defaced. The books also would have been stolen or lost had they not been saved from embezzlement by being presented to a learned body.

Henry Howard of Norfolk.

Arundel library and marbles.

In February, 1667, Evelyn published his answer to Sir George Mackenzie's book on Solitude, which he entitled "Public Employment and an Active Life with its Appanages preferred to Solitude." Soon afterwards he wrote to Cowley the poet, and excused himself for writing in this strain, and in truth his opinions were divided on this question. His cultured mind caused him to long for solitude but his active spirit made public employment a necessity to him.

Answer to Mackenzie on Solitude.

Pepys had not a very high opinion of his friend's book, and he writes in his Diary, "I do not find much excess of good matter, though it be pretty for a bye discourse" (May 26, 1667). In the letter to which we have just referred, Evelyn urges Cowley the poet. Cowley to write a poem on the Royal Society, and shortly afterwards appeared Sprat's History, with some noble lines by the poet, and a frontispiece containing portraits of the King, Lord Chancellor Bacon, and Lord Brouncker, which was designed by Evelyn and engraved by Hollar. Before the publication of this book, however, Cowley died, much to the regret of Evelyn and his many friends and admirers.

In April, 1667, Evelyn and his wife went to visit the eccentric Duchess of Newcastle, Duchess of Newcastle. who received Mrs. Evelyn "in a kind of transport, suitable to her extravagant humour and dress, which was very singular." We are fortunate in having Mrs. Evelyn's impressions of the interview preserved for us in a letter to Mr. Bohun. She writes: "I acknowledge, though I remember her some years since and have not been a stranger to her fame, I was surprised to find so much extravagancy and vanity in any person not confined within four walls. . . . Her mien surpasses the imagination of poets or the descriptions of romance heroine's greatness; her gracious bows, seasonable nods, courteous stretching out of her hands, twinkling of her eyes, and various gestures of approbation, show what may be expected from her discourse, which is airy, empty, whimsical, and rambling as her books, aiming at science, difficulties, high notions, terminating commonly in nonsense, oaths, and obscenity." This was the woman who was fooled to the top of her bent by all who came in contact with her. Evelyn himself when writing to her Grace likens her to Zenobia,

the mother of the Gracchi, Vittoria Colonna, and a long list of celebrities besides; adding, however, that "all these summed together possess but that divided which your Grace retains in one."

In June, 1667, the Dutch fleet blocked up the river, and London suffered from want of fuel. Evelyn was commanded by the King to search for peat or turf fit for use, and he found plenty. In the following month he was called upon to experiment with the *houllies* which are mentioned in "Sylva," as being in use at Maestricht. They were made with a mixture of charcoal-dust and loam, and were tried with success at Gresham College, being without smoke or smell.

Scarcity of fuel in London.

At the end of the year 1666, a Dutchman of the Prince of Orange's party, named Kiviet, came over to England with proposals for embanking the river from the Temple to the Tower with brick, and was knighted by the King. He was introduced to Evelyn, whom he persuaded to join with him in a great undertaking for the making of bricks. On March 26th, 1667, the two went in search of brick-earth, and in September articles were drawn up between them for the purpose of proceeding in the manufacture. In April, 1668, Evelyn subscribed 50,000 bricks for the building of a College for the Royal Society in addition to £50 given previously for the same purpose. We hear no more of the brickmaking scheme in the Diary, but we gain information as to the sequel from Pepys, who writes: "At noon comes Mr. Evelyn to me about some business with the office, and there in discourse tells me of his loss, to the value of £500, which he hath met with in a late attempt of making of bricks upon an adventure with others, by which he presumed to have got a great deal of money, so

Sir John Kiviet and his bricks.

that I see the most ingenious men may sometimes be mistaken." (Sept. 23rd, 1668.)

Sir John Kiviet is only once again mentioned in the Diary, but this time he has another partner. In July, 1670, Evelyn visits Newmarket, and finds Lord Wotton and Kiviet about their draining engines, which they had set up on a large piece of marsh land: "They much pleased themselves with the hopes of a rich harvest of hemp and cole-seed, which was the crop expected;" and the diarist allows that they had already made a wonderful improvement in the land.

Freart on Painting.

In August, 1668, Evelyn published his "Idea of the Perfection of Painting," a translation from the French of Freart, which he dedicated to Henry Howard of Norfolk; and in February, 1669, appeared the "History of the three late famous Impostors,"[1] which he calls in his Diary the "History of the four Impostors."

History of three Impostors.

In July, 1669, he was honoured by the University of Oxford with the degree of Doctor of Civil Law, which was given to him largely on account of his part in the presentation of the Arundel marbles. In May of the following year he went to London, to inquire about the office of Latin Secretary to the King, the reversion of which had been promised to him. He describes it as a place of more honour and dignity than profit, but we hear no more of it in the subsequent pages of the Diary.

Latin Secretary to the King.

We now come to the consideration of an important undertaking entered into by Evelyn, which ended in a very unsatisfactory manner. In February,

[1] The three impostors (as stated on the title-page) were Padre Ottomano, pretended son of the Grand Signior; Mahomet Bei, a Wallachian, and pretended prince of the Ottoman family, and Sabbatai Sevi, the supposed Messiah of the Jews. See p. cvi.

1669, Lord Arlington began to tempt Evelyn to write a History of the Dutch War (apparently induced thereto by Evelyn's own recommendation of the appointment of a Royal Historiographer in a letter to Sir Thomas Clifford), but this commission was refused. However, in June, 1670, the King's desire was more pointedly stated, and Evelyn was told that his refusal had been taken ill. Under these circumstances, when he was promised all the assistance that could be obtained from the Secretary of State's office, he agreed to undertake the work. He received a large number of secret papers from the Lord Treasurer, with instructions to be a little keen in his remarks, because the King had been very unhandsomely abused by the Hollanders in their pictures, books, and libels. On September 1, 1672, Evelyn had proceeded so far as to have some portion of his work ready to read to Lord Clifford, to whom he had previously sent a brief synopsis of his proposed scheme, with a description of the large amount of work he had had to go through in arranging his materials. By the time he was ready to go to press, he found that those who had urged him on were getting sick of the whole matter. He therefore published in 1674 his "Navigation and Commerce," which was merely intended as the preface to the projected work. It came out, unfortunately, just at the time of the conclusion of the treaty of Breda, and the Dutch ambassador therefore complained of it and desired that it might be called in. The King expressed himself as exceedingly pleased with the book, but said that he must recall it formally to pacify the ambassador, although such copies as were publicly seized should be restored to the printer. As might have been expected, the report of the sup-

Proposed History of the Dutch War.

"Navigation and Commerce."

pression caused the book to be bought up, and the publisher was quite satisfied with the sale. Evelyn says that the King had had it read to him before it was printed, and had furnished that portion which angered the Dutch. He was disgusted with the whole affair, and pursued his History of the War no further. The manuscript he lent to Pepys, and it is now lost. In the tract on Navigation, Evelyn argues strenuously in favour of England's right to the dominion of the sea, a claim which at that time attracted much attention. Selden's folio entitled *Mare Clausum* was the great text-book on the subject, but Pepys made large collections with the intention of discussing the question afresh. In spite of this public expression of his belief in England's right, Evelyn really held different views, and he unburdens his mind on the subject to Pepys in a letter dated Sept. 19, 1682.

The attention which Evelyn paid to the subject of Commerce in preparing himself for his work on the Dutch war, pointed him out as specially fitted for a seat on the Council of Foreign Plantations, to which he was appointed in 1671, with a salary of £500 per annum. He was pleased with this appointment, and considered it an honour done to him, because the other members of the Council were chiefly noblemen and officers of State. The Earl of Bristol's house in Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, was taken for the use of the Commissioners, but the King objected to the distance from the palace and proposed that a Council Chamber should be built in Whitehall, so that he might come to hear the debates. It was further proposed that each member of the Commission should contribute £20 for the purpose. In October, 1672, the Councils of Plantation and of Trade were united into one Committee, and Locke the philosopher was appointed Secretary to the Board.

Council of Trade and Plantations.

The Trinity Company gave a feast in May, 1671, to Evelyn and his wife, in consideration of their passing a fine of the land which their father, Sir Richard Browne, had freely given to found a college or almshouse at Deptford for seamen's widows. In 1673 Sir Richard Browne was Master of the Trinity House, and Evelyn was sworn a younger Brother at the same time as his friend the Earl of Ossory. Some years previously Sir Richard had been disappointed of the office of Warden of Merton College, Oxford, through the action of Archbishop Juxon. All the Fellows except one voted for him, but the statutes of the College direct that if the Fellows be not unanimous the election shall devolve upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Visitor, and Juxon chose Sir T. Clayton, the Professor of Physic, who was not a Fellow. Evelyn was not sorry that Browne lost this preferment, because it would have hindered him from attending at Court. This was in 1660, and in 1672 Sir Richard resigned his place as Clerk of the Council to Joseph Williamson, who was knighted on admission. The King had many years before promised to give the place to Evelyn, but in consideration of the renewal of the lease of Sayes Court and other reasons, the latter parted with it to Williamson.

Trinity House.

Sir Richard Browne and the Wardenship of Merton College.

Evelyn's name is so closely connected with that of Mrs. Blagge, the beautiful and virtuous maid of honour, better known as Mrs. Godolphin, that it seems proper to introduce her here. She is mentioned once or twice in the Diary as having visited at Sayes Court, but her name first comes prominently forward in December, 1674, when she returned to Court much against her inclination to act in the masque of "Calisto, or the Chaste Nymph." The actresses in this piece were:—

Mrs. Godolphin.

Calisto. Lady Mary (afterwards Queen Mary II.).
Nyphe. Lady Anne (afterwards Queen Anne).
Jupiter. Lady Henrietta Wentworth (afterwards mistress to the Duke of Monmouth).
Juno. Countess of Sussex (Lady Anne Fitzroy, daughter of Charles II.).
Psecas. Lady Mary Mordaunt.
Diana. Mrs. Blagge.
Mercury. Mrs. Jennings (afterwards Duchess of Marlborough).

The nymphs attending on Diana, who "danced in the Prologue, and in several entries in the Play" were, the Countess of Derby, Countess of Pembroke, Lady Katharine Herbert, Mrs. Fitz-Gerald, and Mrs. Frazier.

The men that danced were, the Duke of Monmouth, Viscount Dunblaine, Lord Daincourt, Mr. Trevor, Mr. Harpe, and Mr. Lane.

The performers were covered with jewels, and Evelyn reports that Mrs. Blagge had about her nearly twenty thousand pounds' worth of precious stones. On the second performance she was so unfortunate as to lose one valued at £80, which had been borrowed from the Countess of Suffolk. The Duke of York, however, made the loss good.

On the 16th of May, 1675, Mrs. Blagge was married at the Temple Church to Sidney Godolphin, Groom of the Bedchamber to the King, and in September, 1676, Evelyn made himself very busy in ordering the building of a house for the pair in Scotland Yard. He contrived, and surveyed, and overlooked the workmen. He sought after marble for the chimney-pieces, and did all he could to prepare a suitable abode for his friends. Their married life, however, was of short duration, and on the 9th of September, 1678, Margaret Godolphin died, in the twenty-sixth year of her age, to the lasting grief of her husband and every one that knew her. Evelyn felt her death acutely, and devotes many lines of

the Diary to the expression of his feelings. He adds, however: "But it is not here that I pretend to give her character, having designed to consecrate her worthy life to posterity." These memoirs, which he wrote soon afterwards, remained in manuscript until 1847, when they were published by Bishop Wilberforce.[1]

On the 29th of April, 1675, Evelyn read his first discourse of "Earth and Vegetation" before the Royal Society, Sir Robert Southwell having read one the week before on "Water." The Society asked him to print his work, and it was published the same year under the title of "Terra." From this time and for some years to come he appears to have been too fully employed to devote much attention to literary or scientific pursuits.

"Terra."

In 1672 he had been elected Secretary to the Royal Society, in place of his friend Thomas Henshaw, but he only held the office for a single year. Ten years afterwards he was importuned to stand for election as President, but infirmities were growing upon him, and a fainting fit in the Council-room, while he was auditing the Society's accounts, showed him that he must take some repose. He therefore refused, and desired his friends to vote for Sir John Hoskins, who was elected. Eleven more years and he was again importuned to take the Presidentship, but he again refused.

Presidentship of the Royal Society.

Returning to the date at which our chronology had arrived, we find that in 1675 John, Lord Berkeley of Stratton, on going to France as ambassador, put all his affairs and his whole estate into Eve-

Evelyn is trustee of Lord Berkeley's estates.

[1] For an account of a book of prayers given by Evelyn to Mrs. Godolphin, see p. cxv.

lyn's hands for management during his absence. Evelyn, having already much on his hands, was loth to undertake this additional responsibility, but Mr. and Mrs. Godolphin were importunate, and he could deny them nothing. The ambassador returned to England in June, 1677, after concluding the treaty of Nimeguen, and Evelyn gladly gave up his trust, which had been a very onerous one.

Marriage of Evelyn's son.

The first marriage in Evelyn's family took place in February, 1678, when his third and only surviving son (John), aged thirty-three years, was then married at St. Andrew's Church, Holborn, to Martha Spencer, daughter of the wife of Sir John Stonhouse, by a former husband.

Chelsea College.

About this same time Evelyn was much interested in the disposal of Chelsea College, which was then possessed by the Royal Society, who would gladly have got rid of it. As this place passed through many vicissitudes, it will be well to note shortly here what these changes were. The first scene in the history is when Dr. Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, attempted to found a College for Polemical Divines, who would be employed in confuting the doctrines of the Roman Catholics. James I. took some interest in the undertaking, and suggested that the City of London should give money towards so good a work. He laid the first stone of the building at Chelsea on the 8th of May, 1609, the charter of incorporation being dated on the same day in the following year. Dr. Sutcliffe died in 1629, and left a large sum of money by will to complete the College; but after his death it fell into decay, and the place was taken possession of for the nation in February, 1654. During the war with the Dutch it was used for the reception of the prisoners of war, and Evelyn frequently visited

JAMES the FIRST.

the College in the performance of his duties as one of the Commissioners. In September, 1667, he had orders to deliver it up to the Royal Society as a gift from the King; but they found it of very little use to them, as it was too far away from London to be suitable for the purposes of meeting. Sir Stephen Fox had thoughts of buying the house, with its sixteen acres of ground, and in February, 1680, Evelyn wrote to Lord Ossory to urge him to buy it, as an excellent investment. Lord Ossory sent the letter to his father, the great Duke of Ormonde,[1] but nothing further came of the negotiation, and in 1681 the King purchased the College back again from the Royal Society for £1,300. His object, to which he was incited by Sir Stephen Fox, was the erection of a Royal Hospital "for emerited soldiers," which having been successfully carried out, remains to this day. Evelyn says that Fox had the whole managing of the affair, and remarks that he was to be a grand benefactor, "as became him who had gotten so vast an estate by the soldiers." Nell Gwyn is popularly credited with the suggestion of Chelsea Hospital, but we hear nothing of this in the Diary.

Five short months after Evelyn had written to him about Chelsea House the gallant Ossory died of a sudden illness brought on by the base treatment he had received at Court. The mourning for him was universal, and Evelyn deeply regretted the loss of a dear friend. He expresses his feelings strongly in the Diary, and describes him as "a sincere friend, a brave soldier, a virtuous courtier, a loyal subject, an honest man, a bountiful master, and a good Christian." This was the man of whom the Duke of Ormonde said to a foolish condoler:—"I would not exchange my dead son for any living son in Christendom." Earl of Ossory.

[1] "Sixth Report of Historical Manuscripts Commission," p. 727.

Death of Sir Richard Browne.

On the 12th of February, 1683, died Sir Richard Browne, at Sayes Court, in the seventy-eighth year of his age; leaving his daughter, Mrs. Evelyn, as his sole heir. He was buried at Deptford, and the Trinity Company (of which he had been Master), with several noblemen and other distinguished men, attended the funeral ceremony. This worthy man had made his house at Paris an asylum for the distressed Royalists, and as a true son of the Church of England he had kept up public worship according to its rites in his chapel. The Doctors of the Church, therefore, when disputing with the Romanists (who triumphed over the Church as lost), argued for its visibility and existence from the constant service there.

Death of Charles II.

Charles II. died on the 6th of February, 1685, and a national mourning was ordered such as would be worn for a father. Evelyn was sent for by the sheriff of the county of Kent to assist him in proclaiming the new King, and on the 11th a meeting took place. After the calling out of his titles his Majesty's health was drunk in a flint glass of a yard long, and the company departed.

Deaths in the Evelyn family.

About this time great domestic trouble entered Evelyn's home. On the 14th of March his daughter Mary died of the small-pox, in the nineteenth year of her age, and a few months afterwards, on the 29th of August, died of the same fearful disease another daughter, Elizabeth, who had been married a short time before. We see from the Diary how deeply these severe losses were felt by the father.

The Privy Seal put in commission.

In September, 1685, the highest office that Evelyn ever filled was conferred upon him. The second Lord Clarendon, then Lord Privy Seal, was sent to Ireland

as Lord Lieutenant, and the office of Privy Seal was put in commission, Evelyn being one of the Commissioners appointed to execute the office. He took the Test in February, 1686, and went to lodge at Whitehall in the Lord Privy Seal's apartments. He was now placed in a very difficult position, and it is pleasant to find him refusing to countenance the illegal acts of the King. On the 12th of March, 1686, he refused to put his seal to a lease for twenty-one years to be granted to a Romanist named Hale for the printing of missals, offices, lives of saints, &c. —books which had been expressly forbidden to be printed or sold by various Acts of Parliament; and on the 12th of May he refused to seal Dr. Obadiah Walker's licence for printing and publishing Popish books. On another occasion he absented himself from the office when the business was such as he disapproved; but in March, 1687, the Commissioners were relieved of their duties, and the King conferred the office of Lord Privy Seal upon Lord Arundel of Wardour, a zealous Roman Catholic, although Lord Clarendon had now returned from Ireland.

In October, 1685, Evelyn had his portrait painted by Kneller, which has been engraved, and is the one by which he is best known. He was put into the new Commission of Sewers in December of the same year, and in September, 1687, the Lord Mayor appointed him one of the Governors of St. Thomas's hospital.

Portrait by Kneller.

There are several references in the Diary to the celebrated Eastern traveller Chardin, who, although a French subject, was knighted by Charles II.; and Evelyn, having become very friendly with him, stood godfather to his son on the 6th of October, 1687.

Sir John Chardin.

We now come to that momentous period of our

annals when the people having grown disgusted with the conduct of the King a revolution became imminent. Evelyn was quite prepared for the change, and we find him writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury in October, 1688, to warn the bishops against the machinations of the Jesuits. In January, 1689, the archbishop thanked him for his communication, and said that his counsel came very opportunely. Evelyn took a vital interest in all the proceedings of that stirring time, but acted no very prominent part. He was in favour of the Revolution, but expressed his regret at the conduct of the new Queen, who, instead of showing any reluctance at assuming her father's crown, came to Whitehall laughing and jolly as to a wedding.

The Revolution.

A trifle entitled "Mundus Muliebris, or the Ladies' Dressing Room Unlock'd," was published in 1690. It consisted of a poem ("A Voyage to Marryland"), intended to catalogue the follies of the female sex, and to show how modern luxury had corrupted ancient simplicity; and a fop-dictionary of the terms of the cosmetic art. It appears from a passage in the Diary that the poem was the work of the accomplished Mary Evelyn, who, as we have already seen, died of small-pox in 1685. One of the lines will illustrate a passage in the Grammont Memoirs, in which the translator has sadly blundered. Miss Hamilton is there said to have sent a pair of martial (*i.e.* military) gloves to Miss Blague. Now, Martial was the name of a famous glovemaker and perfumer in Paris, whose goods were then the vogue. Molière's Comtesse d'Escarbagnas asks the pertinent question, "Est-ce que Martial fait les épigrammes aussi bien que les gants?" The lines in Mary Evelyn's poem are—

"Mundus Muliebris."

> "Gloves trimm'd and lac'd as fine as Nell's,
> Twelve dozen *Martial*, whole and half."

Evelyn visited Dr. (afterwards Sir Hans) Sloane on the 16th of April, 1691, to see the large collections which that distinguished naturalist had brought from Jamaica. He was very pleased with these and with Sloane's journal, and encouraged him to publish a history of the island. The hint was taken, and the first volume of the "Natural History of Jamaica" appeared in 1707. The second volume, however, was not published until 1725.

Sir Hans Sloane.

The Hon. Robert Boyle died on the 1st of January, 1692, and by his will his old friend Evelyn was appointed one of the trustees for his charitable bequests. One of the first duties connected with this trust was the appointment of a preacher to deliver the since famous Boyle lectures in support of the Christian revelation. The choice of the trustees fell upon the renowned Bentley, who was then chaplain to Bishop Stillingfleet. Evelyn highly esteemed the great scholar, and continued on friendly terms with him for the remainder of his own life.

Death of Robert Boyle.

In 1693 Evelyn published a translation of La Quintinye's "Compleat Gardener," and in the same year his third daughter, Susanna, was married to William Draper, of Addiscombe, near Croydon. Seven years before, Sir Gilbert Gerrard had wished to marry his son to this same Susanna Evelyn, but after some negotiations had taken place, the arrangements were broken off. Among the manuscripts in the British Museum are Mrs. Evelyn's original accounts of what she had laid out for her daughter Draper's wedding in linen, lace, and clothes up to April, 1693. The amount spent was £255 6*s.* 2*d.*[1]

"Compleat Gardener."

Marriage of Evelyn's daughter.

[1] Add. MSS. 15,949.

Greenwich Hospital.

Evelyn always felt an interest in the future of Greenwich Palace, and he had been consulted upon the subject by Charles II. He was, therefore, highly gratified when the treasurership of the proposed hospital for decayed seamen was offered him through his old friend (Sidney, now) Lord Godolphin, in 1695. The first meeting of the Commissioners was held on the 5th of May, and a report on the whole design was shortly afterwards prepared. Evelyn nominated Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Vanbrugh as Secretary, and the Commission set busily to work. In July about seven or eight thousand pounds had been subscribed, and in the following year agreements were made with the workmen for at once proceeding with the foundation. On June 30th, 1696, Evelyn laid the first stone of the new building at five o'clock in the evening, Flamsteed, the Astronomer-Royal, observing the precise time by his instruments. Funds were soon exhausted, and recourse was had to a lottery; but in the year 1701, when the treasurer was ordered by the House of Commons to lay before the Speaker an account of the state of the funds, over £69,000 had been received.

We must return a few years to some of the incidents in Evelyn's life which we have passed over, in carrying on the early history of Greenwich Hospital.

Camden's "Britannia."

In 1695 was published Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden's "Britannia." The additional information respecting the county of Surrey was supplied by Evelyn, and a copy of the work was, therefore, presented to him.

Sayes Court let to Admiral Benbow.

About this time an arrangement was made by him which he had afterwards great reason to regret. He let Sayes Court in June, 1696, to the celebrated Admiral Benbow, who took it for three years with a condition

that the garden should be kept up. Half a year later he writes to Dr. Bohun: "I have the mortification of seeing every day much of my former labours and expense there, impairing for want of a more polite tenant." A much less polite man, however, was soon to have the run of the house, for in 1698 Benbow sublet it to Peter the Great, who was then visiting the dock-yard at Deptford. Evelyn's servant, writing to him respecting the Czar's habits, says, "There is a house full of people and right nasty." When Benbow found how much damage his imperial visitor had done, he sincerely regretted that he had let him come into the house, and as Peter was the guest of William III. he petitioned the Treasury to allow him compensation for the dilapidations.[1]

Peter the Great at Sayes Court.

This petition was sent by the Treasury to Sir

[1] The petition, which is as follows, has been printed in "Notes and Queries," 2nd Ser. vol. i. p. 365.

"To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.

"The humble Peticion of John Benbow, Sheweth,

"That your Petitioner did some time since, take the House of John Evelyn Esquire, call'd Sayes Court at Deptford, and is bound by Agreement to keep the same (together with the Gardens) &c. in Good and Sufficient Order and Repair; and to leave them in the same at the Expiration of his Terme; and so it is (may it pleas your Honours), That his Czarish majestie coming to your Petitioner about three months ago, did request the use of his House, dureing the time of his Stay in England, as also the furniture in it, as it stood. Hee freely consented thereto, and imediately removed his family out of it, and gave him posession; Soposing it might be a pleasure to his good master the king, and that he would have used his House, Goods and Gardens, otherwise than he finds he hath; which are in so bad a condition that he can scarsly describe it to your Honours: besides much of the furniture broke lost and destroy'd.

"Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays that your Honours will please to order a Survey upon the House &c: to see what damages he hath sustained and Reparation be made him, that so he may not be a Sufferer for his kindness:

"And he shall pray, &c."

Christopher Wren, who was directed to survey the house, gardens, and goods, and report on the damage done by the Czar and his retinue. Wren was assisted in his survey by Jos. Sewell of the Moving Wardrobe, and by George London, the King's gardener. On May 9th, 1698, the surveyors drew up a full inventory of all the damage done, and estimated the total amount of the injuries at £350 9*s.* 6*d.*

1. There was the damage done to the building and fencing, which included the breaking of tiles and paving, the loss of keys, inking and greasing of floors, &c. &c., which was put at £107 7*s.*

2. The goods lost, broken, and damaged, including the bed furniture, tapestry, window curtains, tables, chairs, pictures, &c., valued at £133 2*s.* 6*d.*

3. Gardens and plantations, in which grass plots, bowling green, and gravel walks were broken into holes. This damage was set down at £55. Mr. London added to this division of the general estimate the following note :—"Great dammages are done to the trees and plants, which cannot be repaired, as the breaking of the branches of the wall fruit trees, spoiling two or three of the finest true phillereas, breaking several holleys and other fine plants."

Wren in his report suggested that £162 7*s.* should be paid to Evelyn in recompense for the damage done to the house and gardens; £158 2*s.* 6*d.* to the petitioner (Admiral Benbow) for damage done to his goods, and fourteen weeks' rent, £25, included in that amount; and £30 to a poor man named Russell, whose house had been almost entirely ruined. By a Treasury warrant dated June 21st, 1698, the money was ordered to be paid to the various persons in recompense for their damages according to the terms in Wren's report.[1]

[1] The full particulars of the Report are printed in "Notes and Queries," 2nd Ser. vol. i. pp. 365-367.

We are told that one of the Czar's amusements when he was living at Sayes Court was to be wheeled through the hedges in a wheelbarrow, and among the things mentioned in the inventory as broken or lost, we find three wheelbarrows, which were probably the vehicles in which he rode.[1]

As early as June, 1694, we find Evelyn sending some copy of his work on medals to Benjamin Tooke the publisher, and making arrangements for the plates, but the book itself, which was entitled "Numismata," was not published until 1697. He was anxious that Tooke should obtain a more than ordinary supervisor to see it through the press, and he was therefore very angry when he found it full of blunders. He inserted the following sentence in the preface:—"Finding it so miserably deformed through the confident undertakers,"—but was induced to expunge it by the advice of Dr. Bentley. Tooke was very anxious that this passage should not appear, and said, "It will really hinder the sale of the book, and do you no more service than the list of errata does alone sufficiently do."[2] This book has not been very highly esteemed by those who have followed the author in the study of the subject, and Walpole justly complains that little or nothing is said of our medallists, the names of the gravers being very generally omitted. In the letter to Tooke to which we have already referred, Evelyn says that he purposes to have a very accurate index, and this index is commented upon by Walpole. He writes:—"I turned to the Index, and to my greater surprise found almost every thing but what I wanted. In the single letter N, which contains but twenty-six articles, are the following subjects, which I believe

"Numismata."

[1] The holly hedge which Peter the Great destroyed was planted by Evelyn in March, 1683.

[2] Bentley Correspondence, p. 153.

would puzzle any man to guess how they found their way into a discourse on medals :—

Nails of the Cross.
Narcotics.
Natural and artificial curiosities.
Navigation.
Neopolitans, their character.
Negros.
Neocoros.
Nations, whence of such various dispositions.
Nightingale.
Noah.
Noses.
Nurses, of what importance their temper and dispositions."

He thinks that some of this miscellaneous information might have given place to an account of the designers of the medals.

In this same year 1697, was published at Oxford a volume containing catalogues of the manuscript collections in England and Ireland, which includes a list of the manuscripts belonging to Evelyn.

"Acetaria," the last of Evelyn's works.

The last of Evelyn's works was published in 1699, when he was nearly eighty years of age. This was "Acetaria: a Discourse of Sallets," one of the chapters of his projected "Elysium Britannicum," which we learn from a letter to Dr. Beale, he intended to have prepared twenty years before. He dedicated it to Lord Chancellor Somers, then President of the Royal Society, who returned thanks "in an extraordinary civil letter." The subject is one of great interest, and his book, which was produced out of the fulness of knowledge, needed not the excuses he made for it. As he says in his dedication, "He who wrote of the cedar of Libanus wrote also of the hyssop which grows upon the wall."

Death of his son.

In his old age, when he would naturally lean upon an only son, that prop was taken from him. On the 24th of March, 1699, his last remaining son died, at the age of forty-four, after a languishing illness, leaving one son, of whom the old man writes, "I pray God to

prosper him that he may be the support of the Wotton family." George Evelyn died in the October of the same year in the eighty-third year of his age, and Evelyn took the place of his eldest brother as master of Wotton, where he now settled. In a letter to Pepys dated July 22, 1700, he tells his old friend how like the patriarch of old he passes his days in the fields among the oxen and the sheep.[1] About this time he removed all his property from Sayes Court, and soon afterwards let it to Lord Carmarthen, son of the Duke of Leeds.[2]

Death of his brother.

On the 12th of August, 1703, the new commission for Greenwich Hospital was sealed and opened, and Evelyn resigned his office of treasurer to his son-in-law Draper. The large sum of £89,364 14*s.* 8*d.* had then been expended upon the building. He lived to see the wounded and worn-out sailors enter into the home provided for them, and that day in June, 1705, must have been a happy one to him when he visited the Hospital, and saw how comfortable the newly arrived men were in the magnificent building.

Greenwich Hospital.

The night was now fast coming upon him when he could no longer work. As each birthday came round he poured forth his soul in thankful praise to his Maker. The body was growing feeble and ailments came fast upon him, but the mind was as active as ever. His interest remained strong in all around him, but he waited for the end, and as he writes "my taste for things superfluous is extremely altered from what it was: every day called upon to be ready with my packet, according to the advice of Epictetus, and a wiser monitor,

Decay.

[1] Pepys's "Diary and Correspondence," vol. vi. p. 224.

[2] In the middle of the eighteenth century Sayes Court was turned into a workhouse, and in the middle of the nineteenth century it was pulled down. Sir Walter Scott committed a blunder

who is gone before to provide better places and more lasting habitations." He continued his Diary to the last. On the 3rd of February, 1706, he made notes of the morning and afternoon sermons, and on the 27th of the same month he sank to rest.

Death.

Adjoining the chancel of the Wotton church is the burial-place of the Evelyn family, and here, among his kin, the body of the diarist was interred.

In this we see a striking instance of the general neglect by survivors of the wishes of the dead in respect to their interment. In the fourth book of his "Sylva" Evelyn discourses on the sacredness and use of standing groves, and expresses the opinion that as our Saviour's sepulchre was in a garden, so tombs in fields, mountains, highways, and gardens are preferable to the proudest mausoleums. He adds :—"The late elegant and accomplished Sir W. Temple, though he laid not his whole body in his garden, deposited the better part of it, his heart, there ; and if my executors will gratify me in what I have desired, I wish my corpse may be interred as I have bespoke them, not at all out of singularity, or for want of a dormitory (of which there is an ample one annexed to the parish church), but for other reasons not here necessary to trouble the reader with, what I have said in general being sufficient. However, let them order it as they think fit, so it be not in the church or chancel."

It is impossible, in following the various incidents of Evelyn's life, not to be struck by the almost perfect character of the man. It is not necessary to draw up a laboured panegyric here, for the facts already rehearsed point their own moral; still, in

when he stated in a note to his "Kenilworth" that Sayes Court was in the possession of the Evelyn family in the reign of Elizabeth. We have already seen that Evelyn obtained it through his wife.

order to obtain a better idea of the lessons which his life teaches, it will be well to consider him in his public and private characters—in his public character as (1) an author, (2) a courtier, (3) a man of action, (4) a patriot; and in his private character as (5) a friend, (6) a husband and a father.

1. *An Author.* As the production of his numerous works occupied a large portion of his life, it is fair to consider him as an author; but at the same time, although he was justly proud of what he had done, it was not from the literary side that he considered his books. Each one was issued for a purpose, either to further a particular object which required aid in that particular time, or to inform the public respecting a subject upon which they required information. The consequence is that, with the exception of "Sylva" and the Diary, these books are now out of date. That they were required when they first appeared is proved by the various editions that many of them passed through. He writes himself:—"I confess I am foolishly fond of these and other rustications, which had been my sweet diversions during the days of destruction and devastation both of woods and buildings, whilst the Rebellion lasted so long in this nation; and the kind reception my books have found (præfiscere dico) makes me the more willing to give them my last hand, sorry in the mean time for all my aberrations in pretending to meddle with things beyond my talent."[1] He has expressed the opinion that the translation of books is the greatest of drudgeries, yet he condescended to translate many works which he thought would be useful in the vernacular. Isaac Disraeli has given, in his "Curiosities of Literature," a description of Evelyn's mode of work. "Having chosen a subject, he analyzed it in its various parts, under certain

[1] Bentley's Correspondence, p. 136.

heads or titles to be filled up at leisure. Under these heads he set down his own thoughts as they occurred, occasionally inserting whatever was useful from his reading. When his collections were thus formed, he digested his own thoughts regularly, and strengthened them by authorities from ancient and modern authors, or alleged his reasons for dissenting from them. His collections in time became voluminous, but he then exercised that judgment which the formers of such collections are usually deficient in. With Hesiod he knew that 'half is better than the whole,' and it was his aim to express the quintessence of his reading, but not to give it in a crude state to the world, and when his treatises were sent to the press they were not half the size of his collections."

Again Disraeli in considering the Literary Character, elegantly paraphrases and amplifies Evelyn's own description of his work :—"He first taught his countrymen how to plant, then to build: and having taught them to be useful *without doors*, he then attempted to divert and occupy them *within doors*, by his treatises on chalcography, painting, medals, libraries. . . . Whether his enthusiasm was introducing to us a taste for medals and prints, or intent on purifying the city from smoke and nuisances, and sweetening it by plantations of native plants, after having enriched our orchards and our gardens, placed summer ices on our tables, and varied even the salads of our country, furnishing a 'Gardener's Kalendar' which, as Cowley said, was to last as long 'as months and years;' whether the philosopher of the Royal Society, or the lighter satirist of the toilet, or the fine moralist for active as well as contemplative life—in all these changes of a studious life the better part of his history has not yet been told."[1]

[1] This was written before the Diary was published.

This was the kind of man from whom we might expect the sentiment he expressed to Dr. Wotton :— "I ever look upon a library with the reverence of a temple." Horace Walpole, who was little given to enthusiastic writing, is fairly carried away by the contemplation of Evelyn's character, and he says— "The works of the Creator and the mimic labours of the creature were all objects of his pursuit. He unfolded the perfection of the one and assisted the imperfections of the other."

We have already alluded to the special value of the Diary as a record of important events occurring during a long life, and of the opinions of a highly-gifted man, who could sympathize with many forms of thought. We will here give a few examples of the interest of some of the minor entries, in addition to what has gone before.

On the 9th of April, 1655, Evelyn went to see the new ship built by Cromwell, which was called the *Naseby*. This visit is interesting because it illustrates a passage in Pepys's Diary, which is not explained by the editors of that book. After the Restoration the name of the *Naseby* was changed to the *Charles*, and the figure-head, consisting, as Evelyn tells us, of "Oliver on horseback trampling six nations under foot — a Scot, Irishman, Dutchman, Frenchman, Spaniard, and English," was destroyed. Pepys relates with much expression of disapprobation how Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten pulled down and burnt the head "where Cromwell was placed with people under his horse, and Peter, as the Duke called him, is praying to him."[1] Pepys thought this a great waste, because one hundred pounds would have to be paid for a new figure-head after the history of the old one had been forgotten.

Evelyn saw on the 23rd of August, 1662, one of

[1] Diary, ed. Mynors Bright, vol. ii. p. 381.

those triumphs which used to make the River Thames gay with pompous pageants and stately barges, and he gives his opinion that it far exceeded "all the Venetian Bucentoras, &c., on the Ascension, when they go to espouse the Adriatic." In January, 1684, he saw a very different scene, when the same river was frozen hard, and a fair was held upon the ice. He gives a vivid picture of the exciting scene, with the streets of booths, and coaches plying from Westminster to the Temple.

A very elaborate imitation of the siege of Maestricht was exhibited at Windsor before the King on the 21st of August, 1674. Bastions, bulwarks, ramparts, &c., had been constructed in exact imitation of the original city. Guns were fired, mines sprung, and prisoners taken, and no disorder or accident occurred. Evelyn and Pepys saw the sight together. Another military sight was the camp on Hounslow Heath, which gave some umbrage to the Parliament. Evelyn visited it in June, 1678, and saw the Grenadiers for the first time. He describes them as a new sort of soldiers, who were dextrous in flinging hand grenades.

The Diary proves Evelyn's industry, but there are many other illustrations of this industry, such as the miscellaneous MSS. he left behind him. He wrote all his letters with his own hand, and moreover kept transcripts of them, but he was idle in one respect, for he did not correct the proofs of his books, and in consequence he frequently complains of typographical blunders.

In considering him as an author, we cannot give the same praise to his verse that we can to his prose, although Alexander Ross did say that he esteemed his verses as peerless. He seems, however, like some other great men, to have had a father's partiality for his weakly bairns. Among the manuscripts in the British Museum is a letter from the celebrated

Nicholas Laniere (who set to music some of Ben Jonson's masques) to his niece, Mrs. Richards, "at a house in the Old Aumery, Westminster," enclosing a song written by John Evelyn which he had set to music.[1] This letter is not dated, but it is nevertheless valuable as showing that Laniere lived later than has been thought. Walpole supposes him to have died in 1646, but Dallaway points out that he was certainly alive in 1649. Now this letter could not well have been written before 1652, because in that year Mrs. Evelyn came to England, and Laniere asks his niece to present his humble service to Evelyn and "his good ladye."

2. *A Courtier.* Evelyn throughout his life was thoroughly at home at Court, and we cannot but feel that in his dedications and other communications to the great he too readily adopted the servile tone of the day, and indulged in an unnecessary profusion of compliments. He has himself made an excuse for his conduct in this matter, and in a letter to Pepys, dated August 12, 1689, he writes of those who were displeased with the tone of one of his dedications, "But they do not consider that great persons, and such as are in place to do great and notable things, whatever their other defects may be, are to be panegyrised into the culture of those virtues, without which it is to be supposed they had never arrived to a power of being able to encourage them." It is also to be observed that he was as profuse of compliments to his cousin, Colonel (afterwards Sir Samuel) Tuke, as to the King, and in the second edition of that gentleman's adaptation of Calderon's play, which was entitled "The Adventures of Five Hours" (1664), will be found some outrageous praise of this once famous piece. This is a specimen :—

[1] Add. MS. 15,858. The song is not now with the letter.

"You in five hours have here performed more,
Than in five ages all our bards before;
Nor tell me of another Spanish plot
Unless it should to write it be your lot;
'Tis not the story makes the shining faces,
But who recites that story with your graces."

This, however, can be said, that although he was in constant friendly communication with the King he never used his opportunities for his own aggrandizement. He never obtained any lucrative appointment, and we learn from himself that he did not get places that he was willing to fill. In a letter to Pepys of December 6, 1681, he expresses some disappointment at not having been given a seat upon the Navy Board;[1] and in another to the Countess of Sunderland (August 4, 1690) he says, "His late Majesty, Charles II., was sometimes pleased to take notice of it to me that I had by that book (Sylva) alone incited a world of planters to repair their broken estates and woods, which the greedy rebels had wasted and made such havoc of. Upon this encouragement I was once speaking to a mighty man, then in despotic power, to mention the great inclination I had to serve his Majesty in a little office then newly vacant (the salary I think hardly £300), whose province was to inspect the timber-trees in his Majesty's forests, &c., and take care of their culture and improvement; but this was conferred upon another, who I believe had seldom been out of the smoke of London, where, though there was a great deal of timber, there were not many trees. I confess I had an inclination to the employment on a public account, as well as its being suitable to my rural genius, born as I was at Wotton among the woods."[2]

3. *A Man of Action.* When we look at the books

[1] Pepys's "Diary and Correspondence," ed. Mynors Bright, vol. vi. p. 138.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 464 of this book.

he published and think of his cultivated mind, we are too apt to class Evelyn among contemplative men rather than among men of action. He could not, however, live happily unless he was fully occupied, and we have seen throughout his long life how active his spirit always was. His conduct as a Commissioner for the Sick and Wounded is beyond all praise. He had to travel in all seasons and weathers by land and by water in the performance of his duties, and often to provide lodging and necessaries for the distressed men without money or assistance from the State. On one occasion there were such arrears of payment to the victuallers that they shut their houses and refused to receive the sick and wounded, who for a time had to remain in the streets after they had been landed.

4. *A Patriot.* We have already seen that the patriot used the author's pen, and we find that on all occasions Evelyn was ready to work for the advancement of some good object. Isaac Disraeli says "his patriotism warmed beyond the eightieth year of his age, and in his dying hand he held another legacy for his nation."

When Charles II. declared the City Charter to be forfeited in 1683 Evelyn was told that he might have some considerable office for the asking, but he disapproved of this high-handed proceeding and declined the proposal made to him.

As one of the worthiest of Englishmen, Dr. Hunter inscribed his edition of "Silva" to its author's memory in these terms :—

"To the memory of John Evelyn, Esquire, a man of great learning, sound judgment, and most extensive benevolence. From an early entrance into public life to an extreme old age he considered himself as living only for the benefit of mankind. Reader, do justice to this illustrious character, and be confident that as long as there remains a page of his numerous writings, and as long as

virtue and science hold their abode in this island his memory will be held in the utmost veneration."

5. *A Friend.* Such praise as the foregoing, however well deserved, is apt to create an antagonistic feeling in some persons, and we have seen Evelyn described as a cold man, because his conduct was exemplary. We shall now see from the consideration of his private character that such a charge is most undeserved. He was a fast friend, who stood by those he loved through evil report and good report. He was not ashamed to visit those who were in disgrace, and he was, Bishop Burnet tells us, always "ready to contribute everything in his power to perfect other men's endeavours." His charity also was not that which cost him nothing, for we find that when Jeremy Taylor was in want he settled an annual allowance upon him. Both his benevolence and his taste were exhibited in his patronage of Grinling Gibbons. He discovered the unknown artist who first "gave to wood the loose and airy lightness of flowers," and introducing him to the King, obtained his employment on the works that have given immortality to his name as the greatest of carvers. The large correspondence which Evelyn has left behind him, shows him to have been in relations of close intimacy with some of the most worthy persons of his time. Clarendon consulted him respecting the portraits he collected, and Tenison asked his advice when projecting a library for St. Martin's parish. A matchless collection of manuscripts which he once possessed and greatly valued gradually passed out of his custody by the dishonesty of those to whom he lent them. The Duke of Lauderdale borrowed some, and not returning them, they were sold with his library. Burnet borrowed others for his "History of the Reformation," and pretended that they had been lost by the negligence of the

printers. Still more were borrowed by Pepys, and they are now in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge.

6. *Husband and Father.* Mrs. Evelyn was a worthy helpmeet for her husband. Her tastes were congenial with his, for she was an artist herself and loved to aid in the advancement of art. Although she read much and was skilled in etching and painting, she was attentive to the concerns of her household and brought up her family with care and affection.

> "The fairest garden in her looks,
> And in her mind the wisest books."

One would have been glad to hear more of her in the Diary, but her character has been drawn by Dr. Bohun, and from her own words we learn what was the nature of the relationship between this husband and wife. She wrote in her will, "His care of my education was such as might become a father, a lover, a friend and a husband; for instruction, tenderness, affection and fidelity to the last moment of his life; which obligation I mention with a gratitude to his memory, ever dear to me; and I must not omit to own the sense I have of my parents' care and goodness in placing me in such worthy hands."

The wife survived her husband nearly three years, and dying on the 9th February, 1709, in her seventy-fourth year, she was buried near him at Wotton.[1] Although their long life together was happy, they had many sorrows in the loss of their children. We have already seen how deeply Evelyn felt these bereavements, and the Diary is full of tender expres-

[1] In the British Museum, Add. MS. 15,950, are some of her geometrical exercises, with this inscription: "Mary Evelyn, Horologiograph, fecit à Paris 1650 pour amour de mon maistre Mons. Mallet, philomat." In Add. MS. 15,949 is a statement of her accounts: "My owne expenses in clothes and my 3 girls beginning at Midsommer 1669—£190. 15. 0."

sions of his love for those who were taken from him. One son lived to be a comfort to him, but even he died before his father's pilgrimage was ended; so that the aged were forced to follow the young to the tomb.

The following account of this son, and of the subsequent proprietors of Wotton, is taken from Bray's original introduction :—

"His son, Mr. John Evelyn, was of Trinity College, Oxford, and when about 15 years old he wrote that elegant Greek Poem which is prefixed to the second edition of the 'Sylva.' He translated Rapin on Gardens, in four books, written in Latin verse. His father annexed the second book of this to the second edition of his 'Sylva.' He also translated from the Greek of Plutarch the life of Alexander the Great, printed in the fourth volume of 'Plutarch's Lives, by several Hands;' and from the French, the History of the Grand Viziers Mahomet and Achmet Coprogli. There are several Poems of his, of which some are printed in Dryden's Miscellanies, and more in Nichols's Collection of Poems.

"In December, 1688, he was presented to the Prince of Orange at Abington by Col. Sidney and Col. Berkley, and was one of the volunteers in Lord Lovelace's troop, when his Lordship secured Oxford for the Prince. In 1690 he purchased the place of Chief Clerk of the Treasury; but in the next year he was by some means removed from it by Mr. Guy, who succeeded in that office. In August, 1692, he was made one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, from whence he returned to England in 1696 in very ill health, and died 24th March, 1698, in his father's life-time.

"He married Martha, daughter and coheir of Richard Spenser, Esq. a Turkey merchant, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. The eldest

son, and the eldest daughter, Martha-Mary, and youngest daughter, Jane, died infants. The surviving daughter, Elizabeth, married Simon Harcourt, Esq. son of the Lord Chancellor Harcourt. September 18, 1705, the son John, who had succeeded his grandfather at Wotton, married Anne, daughter of Edward Boscawen, Esq. of the county of Cornwall; and by letters patent, dated 30 July, 1713, was created a Baronet. He inherited the virtue and the taste for learning, as well as the patrimony, of his ancestors, and lived at Wotton universally loved and respected. He built a library there, 45 feet long, 14 wide, and as many high, for the reception of the large and curious collection of books made by his grandfather, father, and himself, and where they now remain. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, was long the first Commissioner of the Customs, and died July 15, 1763, in the eighty-second year of his age.

"By his lady, who died before him, he had several children, and was succeeded by John the eldest, who married Mary, daughter of Hugh Boscawen Viscount Falmouth, and died 11 June, 1767, in the 61st year of his age. He was Clerk of the Green Cloth to Frederick Prince of Wales, father of the late King, to the late King when Prince of Wales, and after he came to the Crown. He represented the Borough of Helston in several Parliaments, and to the time of his death. He had only one son, Frederick, who succeeded to the title and estate, and three daughters. Of the daughters, two died unmarried; the third, Augusta, married the Rev. Dr. Henry Jenkin, Rector of Wotton and Abinger, but she died without issue. Sir Frederick was in the army in the early part of his life, and was in *Elliot's Light-Horse* when that regiment so highly distinguished themselves in the famous Battle of Minden in Germany in 1759. He

married Mary, daughter of William Turton, Esq. of Staffordshire, and, dying without issue in 1812, he left his estate to his Lady. She lived at Wotton, where she fully maintained the honour and great respect which had so long attended the family there. Her taste for botany was displayed in her garden and green-house, where she had a curious collection of exotic, as well as native, shrubs and flowers. The library shared her attention; besides making additions to it, she had a complete Catalogue arranged by Mr. Upcott, of the London Institution.

"This lady by her will returned the estate to the family, devising it to John Evelyn, Esq. who descended from George Evelyn, the purchaser of this estate in 1579."

In concluding this slight sketch of Evelyn's life, it would not be easy to find a more appropriate ending than the elegant lines addressed to him by his friend the poet Cowley:—

"Happy art thou, whom God does bless
With the full choice of thine own happiness;
And happier yet, because thou'rt blest
With prudence, how to choose the best;
In books and gardens, thou hast plac'd aright
(Things which thou well dost understand;
And both, dost make with thy laborious hand)
Thy noble innocent delight:
And in thy virtuous wife, where thou again dost meet
Both pleasures more refin'd and sweet;
The fairest garden in her looks,
And in her mind the wisest books.
Oh, who would change these soft, yet solid joys
For empty shows, and senseless noise;
And all which rank ambition breeds,
Which seem such beauteous flowers, and are such
poisonous weeds?"

The following are epitaphs to the memory of the writer of this Diary, and part of his family, interred in the Dormitory adjoining Wotton Church.

For his Grandfather, who settled at Wotton, on an alabaster monument, written by Dr. Comber, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards Dean of Durham :

D. O. M. S.
Georgio Evelino, Arm. non minùs
Vitæ et Morum exemplo, quàm dignitate
conspicuo, quem plenum annis (inoffensæ
vitæ decurso itinere, quale sibi optarunt magni illi, qui inane strepitum
tranquillitati posthabendum putarunt)
Mors immatura abstulit, namq;
rebus omnibus, Deo omnia benè vertente,
affluens, quibus vita beata efficitur,
repetito non infelici delectu matrimonio, Liberos ad filios 16, octoque
filias, penè octogenarius decessit senex:
Parenti charissimo, et benè merenti
Richardus Evelinus, filiorum natu minimus,
Monumentum cum carmine mœrens
posuit, quod non tam Patris vivo hominum
ore victuri, quàm propriæ Pietatis
testimonium esset.
Obiit 30 die Maii, An. Dom. 1603.
Ætatis suæ 73.

On another alabaster monument are the figures of a man and his wife kneeling, and five children ; below is this inscription :

Epitaphium
verè generosi, et prænobilis Viri, D. Richardi
Evelini armigeri, in agro Surriensi, hîc
subter in terrâ conditi.

Quam Pietas, Probitas, claris natalibus ortum,
Prolis amor dulcis, Vitaq. labe carens,

Religionis opus, quem Vota Precesq; suorum,
Et morum niveus candor, aperta manus,
Reddebant olim charum patriæq; suisq;
Vertitur in cineres hâc Evelinus humo.
Lector, ne doleas, cum sis mortalis abito
Et sortis non sis immemor ipse tuæ.
Obiit Quinquagenarius
corporis statu vegeto, vicesimo die Decembris anno
Salutis humanæ
1640, Liberorum quinq. Pater,
relictis quatuor superstitibus, tribus
scil. filiis cum
unicâ tantum filiâ.
Festinantes sequimur.

On another monument, fixed to the same wall:

To
the precious memory of
Ellen Evelyn,
the dearly beloved wife of Richard Evelyn, Esq.
a rare example of Piety, Loyalty, Prudence, and Charity,
a happy Mother of five Children,
George, John, Richard, Elizabeth, and Jane;
who in the 37th year of her age,
the 22d of her marriage,
and the 1635th of Man's Redemption,
put on Immortality,
leaving her name as a monument of her perfections,
and her Perfections as a precedent for imitation.

Of her great worth to know, who seeketh more,
Must mount to Heaven, where she is gone before.

On a white marble, covering a tomb shaped like a coffin raised about three feet above the floor, is inscribed:

Here lies the Body
of John Evelyn Esq.
of this place, second son
of Richard Evelyn Esq.;

who having serv'd the Publick
in several employments, of which that
of Commissioner of the Privy-Seal in the
Reign of King James the 2d was most
honourable, and perpetuated his fame
by far more lasting monuments than
those of Stone or Brass, his learned
and usefull Works, fell asleep the 27 day
of February 1705-6, being the 86 year
of his age, in full hope of a glorious
Resurrection, thro' faith in Jesus Christ,
Living in an age of extraordinary
Events and Revolutions, he learnt
(as himself asserted) this Truth,
which pursuant to his intention
is here declared—
That all is vanity which is not honest,
and that there is no solid wisdom
but in real Piety.
Of five Sons and three Daughters
born to him from his most
vertuous and excellent Wife,
Mary, sole daughter and heiress
of Sir Rich. Browne of Sayes
Court near Deptford in Kent,
onely one daughter, Susanna
married to William Draper
Esq.; of Adscomb in this
County, survived him; the
two others dying in the
flower of their age, and
all the sons very young ex-
cept one named John, who
deceased 24 March 1698-9,
in the 45 year of his age,
leaving one son, John, and
one daughter, Elizabeth.

On another monument at the head of, and like the former :

MARY EVELYN,
the best Daughter, Wife,
and Mother,
the most accomplished of women,
beloved, esteemed, admired,
and regretted, by all who knew her,
is deposited in this stone coffin,
according to her own desire, as near
as could be to her dear Husband
JOHN EVELYN,
with whom she lived almost
Threescore years,
and survived not quite three, dying
at London, the 9 of Feb. 1708-9,
in the 74th year of her age.

In the Church of St. Nicholas, Deptford, on the east wall, to the south of the altar, is a marble mural tablet, with the following inscriptions to the two children of Mr. Evelyn, whose early loss he has so feelingly lamented in his Diary:

R. EVELYN. I. F.
Quiescit hoc sub marmore,
Unà quiescit quicquid est amabile
Patres quod optent, aut quod orbi lugeant;
Genas decentes non, ut ante, risus
Lepore condit amplius;
Morum venustas, quanta paucis contigit,
Desideratur omnibus.
Linguæ, Latina, Gallica,
Quas imbibit cum lacte materno, tacent.
Tentarat Artes, artiumque principiis
Pietatis elementa hauserat.
Libris inhæsit improbo labore
Ut sola mors divelleret.
Quod indoles, quod disciplina, quod labor
Possint ab uno disceres.
Puer stupendus, qualis hic esset senex
Si fata vitæ subministrâssent iter!
Sed aliter est visum Deo:

Correptus ille febriculâ levi jacet,
Jacent tot unâ spes Parentum!
Vixit Ann. V. M. V. III super D.
Eheu! delicias breves.
Quicquid placet mortale, non placet diu,
Quicquid placet mortale, ne placeat nimis.

MARY EVELYN,
eldest daughter of John Evelyn,
and Mary his wife, borne the last day of
September 1665, att Wootton in
the County of Surrey. A beautifull
young woman, endowed with shining
Qualities both of body and mind, infinitly
pious, the delight of her Parents and Friends.
She dyed 17 March 1685 at the
age of 19 years, 5 months, 17 dayes,
regretted by all persons of worth
that knew her value.

A tablet adjoining the foregoing, is thus inscribed:

M. S.
Neere this place are deposited y^e^ bodys
of Sir RICHARD BROWNE of Sayes-Court in Deptford, Knt;
Of his wife Dame JOANNA VIGORUS of Langham in Essex,
deceased in Nov. 1618 aged 74 years.
This Sir Richard was younger son of an ancient family of
Hitcham in Suffolk, seated afterwards at Horsly in Essex, who [being
Student in the Temple, was by Robert Dudley, the great Earle of [Leicester,
taken into the service of the Crowne when he went
Governor of the United Netherlands, and was afterwards
by Queene Elizabeth made Clearke of the Greene Cloth,
in which honorable office he also continued under King James [untill the
time of his death, May 1604, aged 65 years:
Of CHRISTOPHER BROWNE, Esq. son and heire of Sir Richard, who
deceased in March 1645, aged 70 yeares;
Of THOMASIN his wife, da^r^ of Benjamin Gonson of Much Bado

in Essex, Esq. whose grandfather William Gonson, and father [Benjamin,
were successively Treasurers of the Navy to King Hen. VIII., to [K. Ed. VI.,
to Queene Mary, and Q. Elizabeth; and died June 1638, aged [75 years;
Of Sir Richard Browne, Knt. and Baronet, onely son of Chris- [topher;
Of his wife Dame Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Pretyman of Dry-field in Glocester-shire, who deceased vi Octob^r 1652, aged 42 years.

This Sir Richard was Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to K. Charles y^e First, and Cleark of the Council of his Mat^y, and to K. Charles y^e Second, and (after several foraigne and honorable [employments)
continued Resident in the Court of France from K. Cha. the I. [and
from K. Char. II^d to the French-Kings Lewes XIII. and Lewes [XIV. from
the years 1641 (the beginning of our un-natural civile-warr) until [the happy
Restauration of K. Cha. y^e II^d 1660; deceased xii Feb. A^o 1682-3 [aged 78 y^rs;
and (according to ancient custome) willed to be interred in this [place.

These all deceasing in the true Faith of Christ, hope, through his merits, for a joyfull and blessed Resurrection. X. A. P. D.

This Title was erected by John Evelyn Esq. of Sayes-Court, who married Mary sole daughter and heiresse of Sir Richard.

Arms.—Quarterly, 1. Or, a chief Sable, an augmentation granted to *Browne;* 2. Gules, a griffin passant Or, a chief of the second—*Browne;* 3. Argent, a fret G.; 4. Quarterly, indented Or and G.

In the churchyard is the tomb of Sir Richard, with this inscription:

M. S. Richardus Browne de Sayes Court Deptfordiæ in comitatu Cantii, eques auratus et baronettus, Regibus Caroli I. et II. a sanctioribus consiliis secretarius, necnon utriusque Regis totos viginti annos ad Ludovicos xiii et xiv. Galliæ Reges prolegatus. Ætatis confectus in cœlestem patriam migrans exuvias corporis hic deposuit ætatis annos 78, reparatæ salutis 1683, unicâ relictâ filiâ Johanni Evelyno nuptâ. Monumentum in parte ecclesiæ interiore Gener P. P.

. CLERE,
KENT.

RICHARD.
ARTHUR.

CATHERINE, died 1610. = THOMAS STC of Stought Guildford, E

died in the West Indies.

1. MARY, and coh of Daniel Caldwell, Horndon, Essex, E died 1644

H, wife of Anthony Gamegge, of co.
fe of Henry Staynes, of London.
wife of Henry Kelsey, of co. Hants.
un.
nun.
T, wife of John Knatchbull.

ORGE, died an infant.
OUNTJOY.
ARLES.
IN.
NE, married.....Fellman, of Gloucester.
EBECCA, 2nd daughter.

GEORGE, died 1676.
JOHN, died 1661.
RICHARD, died 1656.
Another died 1662.
ELIZABETH, married Sir Cyril Wych.
JANE, died 1723.
3 Sons died infants.

I EVELYN GLANf St. CLERE, in q. took the name lle. ☞ = 2. BRIDGET, sister and coheiress of Jones Raymond, Esq. of Langley, co. Kent.

lere, eiress q. of
A Daughter, married ..... Langton, Esq.
Another Daughter, married Chase Price, Esq. =
SIMON, Earl Harcourt.

onel Alexander
ne and arms of
, 1797.
A Daughter, mar. ..... Gascoign, Esq.
EDWARI Archbis of York (1807.)

marr.
right,
JOHN, succeeded to the title on the death of Sir Frederick Evelyn.
CHARLES, died in India unmarried.
1. M Ho TON

r Daughters.
Two Sons and one Daughter.

PEDIGREE OF THE EVELYN FAMILY

IN THE DIFFERENT BRANCHES.

ARMS. Azure, a Griffin passant Or; a chief of the Last.

CREST. On a wreath a Griffin passant Or, ducally gorged, beak and legs Azure.

LONG DITTON, SURREY. HUNTERCOMB, BUCKS. NUTFIELD, SURREY. WEST DEAN, WILTS. GODSTONE, SURREY. ST. CLERE, KENT. WOTTON, SURREY. WOODCOTE, IN EPSOM, SURREY.

The family came to Harrow, from Evelyn, near Tower Castle, in the Hundred of South Bradford, in Shropshire, 1410.

AVELYN, or EVELYN, 1440.

WILLIAM AVELYN, or EVELYN, of Harrow on the Hill, = ... Middlesex, died 17 Edw. IV. 1470.

ROGER, 1490. = ALICE, daughter and heir of ..... Aylward.

JOHN, of Kingston, 1520. = ... dau. of David Vincent, Esq.

1. ROSE, daughter and heiress of Thomas Williams, brother and heir of Sir John Williams, Knt. = GEORGE, of LONG DITTON and WOTTON, died 1603, aged 73, only son. = 2. JOAN, daughter of .. Stint, died 1613.

1. daughter of Sir Moore, Kt. æt. 20 = THOMAS, of Long Ditton. = 2. FRANCES, daughter of . . Harvey, of Chesington, sister of Lord Harvey.

MARY. = RICHARD HATTON, Esq. of Long Ditton, 3d son of Richard Hatton, Esq. of Shrewsbury.

2. SUSANNA, n. i. = JOHN EVELYN, of GODSTONE, Esq. in 1623. = 1. ELIZABETH, daughter and heiress of Wilham Sterens, of Kingston.

ROBERT, 3d son, of Godstone, co. Surrey, Esq. = SUSAN, daughter of Gregory Younge, of co. York.

RICHARD. ARTHUR.

CATHERINE, died 1610. = THOMAS STOUGHTON, of Stoughton, near Guildford, Esq.

RICHARD, 4th son, of WOTTON, died 1640. = ELINOR, daughter and heiress of John Stanfield, Esq. of Lewes, co. Sussex, died 1635.

Others died,

Sir THOMAS, of Long Ditton, 1613, married Jane, dau. and heiress of Hugh Cost, of London, merchant, died 1609, aged 77. =

1. JANE, wife of Sir John Bodley, of Streatham, Knt.
2. MARY, wife of Otwell Wunley.

GEORGE, of HUNTERCOMBE, near Burnham, Bucks, died 1657, married Dudley Bayles, of Suffolk, died 1661. =

WILLIAM, a Clergyman.
ELIZABETH, wife of Henry Constantine, of Mersley, co. Dorset.
DOROTHY, wife of James Docwray, of co. Cambridge.
FRANCIS, wife of Edward Veotris, of Cambridge.
ROSE, wife of Thomas Keightley, of Staffordshire.
CATHERINE, wife, 1st, of ..... Kenrick, and, 2ndly, of William Braydon, of London.
SUSANNA, wife of William Christmas, of London.

Sir JOHN, of Lee Place, in Godstone, Knt. mar. Thomasine, dau. and coheiress of William Heynes, Esq. of Chesington, died 1643. =

GEORGE, of EVERLEY and WEST DEAN, Wilts,* married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir John Rivers, son of John, Mayor of London. =

JAMES, third son.
1. ELIZABETH, wife of Edward Engham, of Godnedon, co. Kent.
2. FRANCES, wife of Sir Francis Clerk, of Merton Abbey, Knt.
3. MARGARET, wife of John Saunders, of Redneck, co. Berks, Esq.
4. JANE, wife of Sir Anthony Benn, Knt. Recorder of London, and afterwards of Sir Eustace Hart, Knt.
5. ANN, wife of John Hartopp, Esq.
6. SUSAN, } died infants.
7. SARAH, }
8. ELIZABETH, unmarried 1623.

1. GEORGE, son and heir, married Jane, daughter of Richard Crane, of Dorsetshire. = 2. ROBERT, died in the West Indies.
3. JAMES.
1. SUSAN.
2. ELIZABETH, wife of Anthony Gamegge, of co. York.
3. ANNE, wife of Henry Staynes, of London.
4. FRANCES, wife of Henry Kelsey, of co. Hants.
5. ROSE, a nun.
6. MARIA, a nun.
7. MARGARET, wife of John Knatchbull.

1. MARY, dau. and coheiress of Daniel Caldwell, of Horndon, co. Essex, Esq. died 1644. = GEORGE, of Wotton, died 1699, aged 82. = 2. MARY, widow of Sir John Cotton, of co. Kent, daughter of Sir Robert Offley, of Dalby, co. Leicester, died 1664.

JOHN EVELYN, of SAYES COURT, died 1705, aged 85. = MARY, dau. and heiress of Sir Rich. Browne, by a daughter of Sir John Pettyman, died 1709, aged 74.

RICHARD, of WOODCOTE IN EPSOM, married Elizabeth, dau. and heiress of George Mynne, Esq. of Woodcote.

ELIZABETH, wife of Edward Darcie, Esq. of Dartford, co. Kent.

JANE, wife of William Glanville, Esq. of co. Devon.

CHARLES. FRANCIS. VINCENT. ARTHUR. THOMAS, died Jan. 1649-50. 1. ANNE. 2. MARIA, mar. 3. JANE. Ironside.

EDWARD, created a Bart. 1683, died 1692; mar. Mary, who died 1696, aged 61. =

1. THOMAS.
2. GEORGE, both living in 1661.
3. WILLIAM.
FRANCES.

1. MARGARET, died 1683.

GEORGE, of NUTFIELD, heir to his brother, born 1641, died 1699. = 2. FRANCES.

Sir JOHN, of the same, created Bart. 1660, died 1671, n. i. married, 1st, Mary, daughter of George Farmer, Esq. Prothonotary of the Common Pleas, died 1663, n. i.; 2dly, Anne, daughter of Serjeant Glynne, of Henley Park, Surrey, n. i.
GEORGE and RICHARD, died infants, 1637.
THOMASINE, died an infant, 1633.
JANE, wife of Sir William Leech, of Westerham, Kent.
ELIZABETH, wife of Edward Hales, of Boughton Malherbe, Kent.

Sir JOHN, or the same, married Elizabeth, dau. of Robert Cockes, of London. =

2. GEORGE, s. p.
3. ARTHUR, liv. 1636; mar. Anne Harrington.
ELIZABETH, only dau. married Sir John Tyrell, of Springfield, co. Essex.

GEORGE, died an infant.
MOUNTJOY.
CHARLES.
JOHN.
JANE, married Fellman, of Gloucester.
REBECCA, 2nd daughter.

GEORGE, died 1676.
JOHN, died 1664.
RICHARD, died 1656.
Another died 1662.
ELIZABETH, married Sir Cyril Wych.
JANE, died 1723.
3 Sons died infants.

MARY. ELIZABETH, married Rev. Dr. Fulham.

JOHN, died before his father, 1098. = MARTHA, daughter and coheiress of Richard Spencer, Esq. died 1726.

Four Sons died infants.
MARY, died unmarried.
ELIZABETH, married ..... son of Sir John Tippet, n. i.
SUSANNA, married William Draper, Esq. of Adscomb in Croydon.

ANN, daughter and heiress, mar. William Mountagu, Esq. son of the Lord Chief Baron, n. i.

WILLIAM GLANVILLE, married .. ..

GEORGE, died 1685, æt. 22. Other children, died young.

PENELOPE, wife of Sir Joseph Alston, Bart.
MARY, wife of William Glynn, Esq.
SOPHIA, wife of Sir Stephen Glynn, daughters and coheiresses.

GEORGE, of Nutfield, commander in the army in Holland; married, 1st, ... by whom no issue.

2. MARY, daughter of Thomas Garth, Esq. re-married to Charles Boone, Esq.

JOHN, died of the small pox Oct. 1702, unmarr. Two daughters.

EDWARD, of Fellbridge, died 1751, ætat. 71, mar. Julia, natural dau. of the Duke of Ormond. =

RICHARD, mar. Jane Mead. =

Three daughters.

1. FRANCES, dau. and heiress of William Glanville, Esq. = WILLIAM EVELYN GLANVILLE, of ST. CLERE, in Kent, Esq. took the name of Glanville. =

2. BRIDGET, sister and coheiress of Jones Raymond, Esq. of Langley, co. Kent.

ELIZABETH, daughter and heiress, married ..... Pierrepont.

ELIZABETH, married Simon, son of Viscount Harcourt; died 1700.

JOHN, created Baronet 1713, died 1763, aged 82, mar. Ann, daughter of Edward Boscawen, Esq. died 1752.

FRANCES, died 1719, ætat. 22, mar. WILLIAM EVELYN, Esq. of St. Clere. =4

ANN, wife of Daniel Boone, Esq.
MARY.
ELIZABETH, wife of Peter Bathurst, of Clarendon Park, Wilts, Esq.

1. ANNABELLA, sister of George Medley, Esq. of Buried, Sussex. = JAMES, of the same, æt. 75. = 2. JANE, daughter of Sir Richard Cust, of Belton, co. Lincoln.

JULIA MARGARET, mar. ..... Sayer, Esq.

WILLIAM, Dean of Elmsley in Ireland, died about 1776, married Margaret Chamberlain. =

FRANCES, heiress to her mother, mar. the Hon. Admiral Edward Boscawen, who died 1761. =

Lady JANE-ELIZABETH LESLIE. = GEORGE RAYMOND EVELYN, died Dec. 23, 1770, buried at Godstone.

WILLIAM EVELYN, of St. Clere, mar. Susanna, dau. and coheiress of Thomas Borrett, Esq. of Shoreham in Kent. =

A Daughter, married ..... Langton, Esq.
Another Daughter, married Chase Price, Esq. =

SIMON, Earl Harcourt.

MARTHA, died 1794, ma. Geo. Venables Lord Vernon. =

Sir JOHN, died 1767, aged 61, mar. Mary, daughter of Hugh Lord Viscount Falmouth, died 1749. =

General WILLIAM, Col. 29th regt. foot, died unmarried 1783.

ANN, died 1771.

MARY, died 1779.

both unm.

CHARLES, married dau. and heiress of Peter Prideaux, Esq. =

JULIA-ANNABELLA, heiress to her father, and to her uncle Medley. = Sir GEORGE SHUCKBURGH, Bart. took the name of Evelyn, died 1804.

ANNE, died unmarried 1791.

WILLIAM, an Officer, 1776, killed in America, unmar.
GEORGE, died unmarried about 1756.

JOHN, of Wotton, mar. Ann Shee. =

WILLIAM. ELIZABETH, married Henry Duke of Beaufort, K.G. GEORGE-EVELYN, third Viscount Falmouth. FRANCES, married Admiral John Leveson Gower.

1. HENRIETTA. = GEORGE-WILLIAM, Earl of Rothes in right of his mother 1810, died 1817. = 2. CHARLOTTE-JULIA, daughter of Colonel John Campbell, of Donoon.

ANN, dau. of Lord Pelham, obiit 1797.

A Son died before 21.
FRANCES, married Colonel Alexander Hume, took the name and arms of Evelyn only, July 22, 1797.

A Daughter, mar. ... ... Gascoign, Esq.

EDWARD, Archbishop of York, (1807.)

Sir FREDERICK, died 1812, n. i.; married Mary, dau. of William Turton, Esq. died Nov. 12, 1817.

LUCY, died 1754, unmarried.
MARY, died unmarried.
AUGUSTA, died 1812, n. i. mar. the Rev. Dr. Henry Jenkin, Rector of Wotton and Abinger, died Dec. 21, 1817.

CHARLES, married Philippa, dau. of Capt. Fortunatus Wright.

FRIX EVELYN MEDLEY, died April 8, 1804; mar. the Hon. Charles Cecil Cope Jenkinson, brother of Rob. Banks, Earl of Liverpool. =

Two Daughters.

WILLIAM, an Officer, lost in a transport in the Gulph of St. Lawrence 1805 or 1806.

GEORGE, in the Guards. FRANCES.

HENRIETTA-ANNE, now Countess of Rothes, married George Gwyther, who has taken the name of Leslie, 1817.

AMELIA, died unmarried. MARY.

CHARLOTTE-JULIA, died an infant 1802.
ELIZABETH-JANE.
GEORGIANA, died unmarried 1814.

SUSANNA-PRIDEAUX EVELYN, marr. John Ellworthy Fortunatus Wright, Lieutenant R. N. =

Two Sons and four Daughters.

JOHN, succeeded to the title on the death of Sir Frederick Evelyn.
CHARLES, died in India unmarried.

Two Sons and one Daughter.

1. Major HOUGHTON. = PHILIPPA. = 2. WILBRAHAM LIARDET, Esq.

One Son and two Daughters.

MARTHA-BOSCAWEN, died in America, married Nicholas Vincent. =

Two Sons.

EDWARD, died an infant.
HUGH.
MARIA, died in France unmar.

Two Daughters.

FRANCES-LOUISA, marr. Rev. John Griffith. =

* This George was one of the Six Clerks in Chancery, died January 19, 1636, at Eveley, and was buried in the Chancel of West Dean Church 22 February following.

PORTRAITS OF JOHN EVELYN.

PAINTINGS BY

1.	Chanterell	1626	See Diary, vol. i. p. 4.
2.	Vanderborcht	1641	„ p. 13.
3.	Robert Walker	1648	„ p. 297.
	A portrait of Evelyn by Walker was formerly in the possession of George Watson Taylor.		
4.	R. Nanteuil	1650	vol. ii. p. 14.
5.	Sir Godfrey Kneller . . .	1685	vol. iii. p. 5.
6.	Sir Godfrey Kneller . . .	1689	„ p. 78.
	Painted for Samuel Pepys.		
7.	Copy from Kneller's portrait (No. 5), by Frederic Kerseboom? In the possession of the Royal Society, and presented to that body by Mrs. Evelyn.		

ENGRAVINGS BY

1. R. Nanteuil. *Motto,* "Meliora retinete." There are four states of this plate.

   A copy by Worlidge is prefixed to the third edition of the "Sculptura," 1759.

2. Robert Gaywood. "Gaywood ad vivum del. & f. 1654." *Granger's* Hist. of England. *Walpole's* "Anecdotes of Painting," by Dallaway & Wornum, vol. iii. p. 181.

3. Bartolozzi, after Kneller, 1776 (prefixed to Hunter's edition of *Sylva*).
4. S. Bragge, after Kneller, 1818 (engraved for the first edition of the *Diary*).
5. W. H. Worthington, after Walker's painting in the possession of George Watson Taylor.

PORTRAITS OF MRS. EVELYN.

Painting by S. Bourdon. See Diary, vol. ii. pp. 3, 35, 38.

Engraving (1818) by Meyer, from drawing of Nanteuil (1650). (Engraved for the first edition of the *Diary*.)

DRAWING BY JOHN EVELYN.

A Scheme of the Posture of the Dutch fleete and Action at Shere-nesse and Chatham 10th, 11th, & 12th of June, 1667, taken upon the place by J. E.

Engraving from the original sketch in the Bodleian Library (Rawlinson MSS., A 195) in Mynors Bright's edition of Pepys's Diary, vol. iv., facing p. 363.

See vol. iii. pp. 196—197 for list of Evelyn's etchings.

LIST OF WORKS BY JOHN EVELYN.

1649. Of Liberty and Servitude. Translated out of the French [of the Sieur F. de La Mothe Le Vayer] into the English tongue [by John Evelyn], and dedicated to Geo. Evelyn, Esquire. London (printed for M. Meighen and G. Bedell). 1649. 12°. *Royall Privilege* 1 leaf, title, 11 preliminary leaves, pp. 130.

Dedication signed "Phileleutheros" and dated "Paris, March 25, 1647."

"I was like to be call'd in question by the Rebells for this booke, being published a few days before his Majesty's decollation."—Pencil note by Evelyn in his own copy.

Reprinted in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, pp. 1—38.

1652. The State of France, as it stood in the IXth yeer of this present Monarch Lewis XIIII. Written to a Friend by J. E. London, (printed for M. M., G. Bedell and T. Collins,) 1652. 12°. Title, 22 preliminary leaves, pp. 118.

Reprinted in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, pp. 39—95.

1656. An Essay on the First Book of T. Lucretius Carus de Rerum Natura. Interpreted and made English verse by J. Evelyn, Esq. London (printed for Gabriel Bedle and Thomas Collins) 1656. 8°. Frontispiece designed by Mrs. Evelyn and engraved by Hollar, title, 6 preliminary leaves, pp. 186, *epitaph* 1 leaf, *errata* 1 leaf.

1658. The Golden Book of St. John Chrysostom, concerning the Education of Children. Translated out of the Greek by J. E., Esq. London (printed for G. Bedel and T. Collins), 1659. 12°. Title, 20 preliminary leaves, pp. 90, *notes* 3 leaves. [Published in September, 1658. See vol. ii. p. 103.]

Reprinted in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, pp. 103—140.

1658. The French Gardiner: instructing how to cultivate all sorts of Fruit-trees and Herbs for the Garden; together with directions to dry and conserve them in their natural; six times printed in France and once in Holland. An accomplished piece, first written by R. D. C. D. W. B. D. N. [N. de Bonnefons], and now transplanted into English by Philocepos. Illustrated with sculptures. London (printed for John Crookes) 1658. 12°. Pp. 319. Four plates.

—— Second edition, London, 1669, with Evelyn's name on the title.

—— Third edition, (whereunto is annexed, The English Vineyard Vindicated, by John Rose . . . with a Tract of the making and ordering of Wines in France). London (printed for Benj. Tooke). 1672.

1658. The French Gardiner. Fourth edition. London (printed for B. Took). 1691.

"The Epistle Dedicatory," reprinted in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, p. 97.

1659. A Character of England as it was lately presented in a Letter to a Noble Man of France. London (printed for Jo. Crooke) 1659. Title, *To the Reader* 2 leaves, pp. 66.

There does not appear to have been an edition published in 1651 as stated vol. iii. p. 195.

—— With Reflections upon "Gallus Castratus;" the third edition. London (printed for John Crooke) 1659.

Reprinted in "Somers' Tracts," ed. Scott, 1812, vol. vii. p. 176 (Scott did not know the author, but doubted whether it was really a translation from the French); in "Harleian Miscellany," ed. Park, 1813, vol. x. p. 189; and in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, pp. 141—167.

1659. An Apology for the Royal Party, written in a Letter to a person of the late Councel of State, by a Lover of Peace and of his Country. With a Touch at the pretended "Plea for the Army." Anno Dom. 1659. [Nov. 7.] 4°. Title, pp. 14.

Three editions in the same year.

Reprinted in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, pp. 169—192.

1660. The late News from Brussels unmasked, and His Majesty vindicated from the base calumny and scandal therein fixed on him. Printed in the year 1660.

An answer to a coarse libel by March-

mont Needham, entitled "News from Brussels."

Reprinted in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, pp. 193—204.

1661. A Poem upon his Majesties Coronation the 23 of April 1661, being St. Georges day. London (printed for G. Bedel and T. Collins) 1661.

1661. Fumifugium: or the inconveniencie of the Aer and Smoak of London dissipated, together with some remedies humbly proposed by J. E. Esq. to his Sacred Majesty and to the Parliament now assembled. Published by His Majesties Command. London (printed for Gabriel Bedel and Thomas Collins) 1661. 4°. Title, 5 preliminary leaves, pp. 26.

—— Reprinted for B. White, London 1772 [edited by Samuel Pegge], 8°; and in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, pp. 205—242.

Analysis of the Tract in the "Journal of Science, Literature, and the Arts," vol. xii. 1822, p. 343.

1661. A Faithful and Impartial Narrative of what passed at the landing of the Swedish Ambassador. (See vol. ii. pp. 485—491.)

1661. Instructions concerning erecting of a Library, presented to My Lord the President De Mesme by Gilbert Naudeus, P. and now interpreted by Jo. Evelyn, Esquire. London (printed for G. Bedle and T. Collins, and J. Crook), 1661, sm. 8°. Title, 5 preliminary leaves, pp. 95, *Errata* 1 leaf.

1661. Tyrannus or the Mode, in a Discourse of Sumptuary Lawes. London (printed for G. Bedel and T. Collins, and J. Crook) 1661.

1662. Sculptura: or the History and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper, with an ample enumeration of the most renowned masters and their works; to which is annexed a new manner of Engraving or Mezzo Tinto, communicated by His Highness Prince Rupert to the Author of this treatise. London (printed for G. Beedle and T. Collins, and J. Crook), 1662.

—— Second edition, London, 1755. 8°. Dedicated to Sir John Evelyn, Bart., by J. Payne, the publisher.

Reprinted in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, pp. 243—336.

1664. Sylva, or a Discourse of Forest-Trees, and the propagation of Timber in his Majesties Dominions. By J. E. Esq. As it was deliver'd in the Royal Society the XVth of October, MDCLXII. upon occasion of certain quæries propounded to that illustrious Assembly by the Honorable the Principal Officers and Commissioners of the Navy; to which is annexed Pomona, or an Appendix concerning Fruit Trees in relation to Cider, the making and severall wayes of ordering it. Published by express order of the Royal Society. Also Kalendarium Hortense, or the Gard'ners Almanac, directing what he is to do monethly throughout the year. London (printed by Jo. Martyn and Ja. Allestry). 1664. Folio. *Order of R. S.* 1 leaf, title, 6 preliminary leaves, pp. 120. *Pomona* and *Kalendarium*, title, pp. 83; *Errata* 1 leaf.

—— All which several treatises are in this second edition much inlarged and improved by John Evelyn, Esq. Fellow of the Royal

Society. London (printed for Jo. Martyn and Ja. Allestry). 1670. Folio. Portrait, Title, 23 preliminary leaves, pp. 247; *Pomona*, title, 1 leaf, pp. 67. *Kalendarium*, pp. 33, *errata* 1 leaf.

—— Third edition. London (printed for John Martyn), 1679. Folio.

—— Fourth edition. London (printed for Robert Scott, &c.), 1706. Folio.

—— Fifth edition. London, 1729. Folio.

Silva: or a Discourse of Forest Trees, and the Propagation of Timber . . . . . together with an Historical Account of the Sacredness and Use of Standing Groves. By John Evelyn, Esq. Fellow of the Royal Society, with notes by A. Hunter, M.D. F.R.S. York (printed by A. Ward for J. Dodsley). 1776. 4°. Portrait, Title, 28 preliminary leaves, pp. 649, Title, *Index* 5 leaves, Plates. Dedicated to Sir Frederick Evelyn, Bart.

—— A new edition; to which is added the Terra: a Philosophical Discourse of Earth. York, 1786. 2 vols. 4°.

—— Third edition. York, 1801. 2 vols. 4°. Fourth edition, 1812. 2 vols. 4°. Fifth edition. London 1825. 2 vols. 4°.

Dendrologia; or a Treatise of Forest Trees, with Evelyn's Silva, revised, corrected, and abridged by a Professional Planter and Collector of practical Notes forty years. By J. Mitchell. Keighley, 1827. 8°. Pp. 280.

1664. Kalendarium Hortense; or the Gard'ner's Almanack, directing what he is to do monethly throughout the year, and what fruits and flowers are in prime. By John

Evelyn, Esq. Fellow of the Royal Society. London (printed for John Martyn), 1664.

—— Second edition, 1666.

—— Third edition.

—— Fourth edition, 1671, pp. 127. *Table* 7 leaves.

—— Fifth edition.

—— Sixth edition, 1676.

—— Seventh edition, 1683.

—— Eighth edition, 1691.

—— Ninth edition, 1699.

—— Tenth edition, 1706 (printed for R. Scot, G. Sawbridge, and Ben. Tooke).

Reprinted in "The Lady's Recreation, or the third and last part of the Art of Gardening improv'd," by Charles Evelyn, 1717. Also in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, pp. 425—498.

1664. A Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern, in a Collection of ten principal Authors who have written upon the five Orders, viz. Palladio and Scamozzi, Serlio and Vignola, D. Barbaro and Cataneo, L. B. Alberti and Viola, Bullant and De Lorme compared with one another. The three Greek Orders, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian, comprise the first part of this Treatise, and the two Latin, Tuscan and Composita, the latter. Written in French by Roland Freart, Sieur de Chambray. Made English for the Benefit of Builders; to which is added, An Account of Architects and Architecture in an Historical and Etymological Explanation of certain terms particularly affected by Architects, with Leon Baptista Alberti's Treatise of Statues. By John Evelyn, Esq. Fellow of the Royal

Society. London (printed by Tho. Roycroft for John Place), 1664. Folio. *Imprimatur* 1 leaf, engraved title (with portrait), title, 9 preliminary leaves, pp. 159.

—— Second edition. London. 1707. Folio.

—— Third edition. London. 1723. Folio.

—— Fourth edition, with the addition of The Elements of Architecture, collected by Sir Henry Wotton, Knt. from the best Authors and examples, and also other large additions. London, 1733. Folio. Title, 11 preliminary leaves, pp. xxxviii, 115; 3 leaves, pp. 74.

1665. Μυστήριον τῆς Ἀνομίας; that is, Another part of the Mystery of Jesuitism, or the new Heresie of the Jesuites, publickly maintained at Paris in the College of Clermont the 12 of December, 1661, declar'd to all the Bishops of France, according to the Copy printed at Paris; together with the Imaginary Heresie in three letters with divers other particulars relating to this abominable Mysterie, never before published in English. London (printed by James Flesher for Richard Royston), 1664. [Jan. 1664-5.] Sm. 8°. Title, *epistle* 2 leaves, pp. 206, *the fourth letter* (unpaged), 20 leaves, pp. 207-254.

The copy presented by the author to Sir Henry Herbert, with autograph inscription, is in the British Museum.

1666. The English Vineyard vindicated by John Rose Gard'ner to His Majesty at his Royal Garden in St. James's, formerly Gard'ner to her Grace the Dutchess of Somerset. With an Address, where the best plants may be had at easie rates. London

(printed for John Crook), 1666. Sm. 8°. Title, 7 preliminary leaves, pp. 41, 1 leaf, 1 plate.

The Preface is signed "Philocepos," *i.e.* John Evelyn, who put the book into form.

Reprinted in the "French Gardiner."

1667. Publick Employment, and an Active Life prefer'd to Solitude, and all its appanages, such as fame, command, riches, conversation, &c., in reply to a late ingenious Essay of a contrary title. By J. E., Esq. S.R.S. London (printed for H. Herringman) 1667. Sm. 8°. Title, 6 preliminary leaves, pp. 120.

Reprinted in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, p. 501—552.

1668. An Idea of the Perfection of Painting, demonstrated from the principles of art, and by examples conformable to the Observations which Pliny and Quintilian have made upon the most celebrated pieces of the ancient painters, parallel'd with some works of the most famous modern painters, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Julio Romano, and N. Poussin. Written in French by Roland Freart, Sieur de Cambray, and rendred English by J. E. Esquire, Fellow of the Royal Society. In the Savoy (printed for Henry Herringman). 1668. 8°. Title, 19 preliminary leaves, pp. 136.

Dedication and Preface reprinted in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, pp. 553—562.

1669. The History of the three late famous Impostors—viz., Padre Ottomano, Mahomed Bei, and Sabatei Sevi. The one pretended son and heir to the late grand Seignior, the

other a Prince of the Ottoman family, but in truth a Valachian Counterfeit; and the last the supposed Messiah of the Jews, in the year of the true Messiah 1666. With a brief account of the ground and occasion of the present war between the Turk and the Venetian; together with the cause of the final extirpation, destruction and exile of the Jews out of the empire of Persia. In the Savoy (printed for H. Herringman). 1669. 8°. Title, 7 preliminary leaves, pp. 126.

The Epistle Dedicatory to Lord Arlington, signed "J. E."

Reprinted in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, pp. 563—620.

1674. Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress. Containing a succinct account of Traffick in general; its benefits and improvements; of discoveries, Wars, and Conflicts at Sea, from the Original of Navigation to this day; with special regard to the English Nation; their several voyages and expeditions to the beginning of our late differences with Holland; in which his Majesties title to the Dominion of the Sea is asserted against the Novel and later pretenders. By J. Evelyn, S.R.S. London (printed for Benj. Tooke). 1674. 8°. Title, *dedication* 2 leaves, pp. 120, *table* 6 leaves, *errata* 1 leaf.

Reprinted in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, pp. 625—686; and in Lord Overstone's "Select Collection of Tracts on Commerce," 1859, pp. 29—103.

1676. A Philosophical Discourse of Earth, relating to the culture and improvement of it for Vegetation, and the propagation of Plants,

&c., as it was presented to the Royal Society April 29, 1675. By J. Evelyn, Esq., Fellow of the said Society. London (printed for John Martyn). 1676. 8°. Pp. 182.

—— Third edition, 1706, folio.

Terra: a Philosophical Discourse of Earth, relating to the Culture and improvement of it for Vegetation, and the propagation of Plants, as it was presented to the Royal Society, by J. Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S. A new edition with notes by A. Hunter, M.D., F.R.S. York (printed by A. Ward for J. Dodsley, &c.) 1778. 8°. Pp. viii. 194.

1690. Mundus Muliebris: or the Ladies' Dressing-room Unlock'd and her toilette spread. In Burlesque, together with the Fop-Dictionary compiled for the use of the fair sex. London (printed for R. Bentley). 1690. 4°. Title, *preface* 3 leaves, pp. 22.

"A Voyage to Marryland; or, the Ladies' Dressing-room," is the title given on page 1. It appears to have been written by Mary Evelyn. See ante, p. lxviii.

Reprinted in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, pp. 697—713.

1693. The Compleat Gardener, or Directions for cultivating and right ordering of Fruit Gardens and Kitchen Gardens; with divers Reflections on several parts of Husbandry. In Six Books. By the famous Monsr. De La Quintinye, Chief Director of all the Gardens of the French King; to which is added his Treatise of Orange Trees, with the raising of Melons, omitted in the French editions. Made English by John Evelyn, Esq. Illustrated with Copper Plates. London (printed for Matthew Gillyflower and

James Partridge). 1693. Folio. Portrait, title, 21 preliminary leaves, pp. 184, tables 2 leaves. Vol. 2, pp. 204, table 2 leaves. Directions concerning Melons, pp. 4. Treatise of Orange Trees, pp. 34. Reflections upon some parts of Agriculture, pp. 35—80.

—— Now compendiously abridg'd and made of more use, with very considerable improvements, by George London and Henry Wise. Second edition. London (printed for M. Gillyflower). 1699. 8°.

—— Third edition. London. 1701.

—— Fourth edition. 1704.

—— Fifth edition. 1710.

1697. Numismata. A Discourse of Medals, Antient and Modern; together with some Account of Heads and Effigies of illustrious and famous persons in sculps, and taille-douce, of whom we have no medals extant, and of the use to be derived from them, to which is added a digression concerning Physiognomy. By J. Evelyn, Esq., S.R.S. London (printed for Benj. Tooke). 1697. Folio. Title, 3 preliminary leaves, pp. 342, *Index* 7 leaves.

1699. Acetaria: a Discourse of Sallets. By J. E., S.R.S. Author of the "Kalendarium." London (printed for B. Tooke). 1699. Sm. 8°. Title, 19 preliminary leaves, pp. 192. *Appendix, table, and errata*, 25 leaves.

Reprinted in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, pp. 721—811.

Of Gardens. Four Books. First written in Latine verse by Renatus Rapinus, and now made English by J E (velyn). London (printed for Thomas Collins and John Ford and Ben-

jamin Tooke). 1673. 8°. Title, 19 preliminary leaves, pp. 237.

This work was published by Evelyn, but the translation was by his son. See vol. ii. p. 288.

Of Manuscripts: an unfinished Treatise. By John Evelyn, in Memoirs of Evelyn. Second edition. 1819. Vol. 2. Pp. 321—336.

POSTHUMOUS PUBLICATIONS.

1818. Memoirs illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn, Esq. F.R.S., comprising his Diary from 1641 to 1705—6, and a Selection from his familiar letters. Edited by W. Bray. London. 1818. 2 vols. 4°.

—— Second edition. London. 1819. 2 vols. 4°.

—— Memoirs of John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S. Third edition. London. 1827. 5 vols. 8°.

—— Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S. Fourth edition [edited by John Forster]. London. 1850—52. 4 vols. Sm. 8°.

—— Fifth edition. London. 1857. 4 vols. Sm. 8°.

Reprinted in Bohn's Illustrated Library (1858).

1825. The Miscellaneous Writings of John Evelyn, Esq. F.R.S. Author of Sylva, or a Discourse of Forest Trees; Memoirs, &c. Now first Collected, with occasional Notes, by William Upcott, of the London Institution. London (Henry Colburn). 1825. 4°. Pp. xxvi. 849. 4 plates.

1847. The Life of Mrs. Godolphin. By John Evelyn, of Wootton, Esq. Now first published

and edited by Samuel [Wilberforce], Lord Bishop of Oxford, Chancellor of the most noble Order of the Garter. London (William Pickering). 1847. 12°. Portrait, pp. xviii. 265.

—— Second edition. 1848.

—— Third edition. 1848.

Printed from Evelyn's original MS. in the possession of his great-great-grandson, Edward Venables Vernon Harcourt, Lord Archbishop of York.

An Abridgment was published by Pickering in 1853 under the title of "The Saintly Life of Mrs. Margaret Godolphin." Second edition. 1864.

1850. The History of Religion: a Rational Account of the True Religion. By John Evelyn, author of "Sylva," etc. Now first published, by permission of W. J. Evelyn, Esq., M.P., from the Original MS. in the Library at Wotton. Edited, with notes, by the Reverend R. M. Evanson, B.A., Rector of Lansoy, Monmouthshire. London (Henry Colburn). 1850. 2 vols. Sm. 8vo.

This work, which contains much curious matter drawn from various authors, was commenced in 1657. The author continued and added to it during his life. He entitled it, "Analecta or Collections."

PAPERS, LETTERS, &c.

Of a Method of making more lively Representations of Nature in Wax than are Extant in Painting: and of a new kind of Maps in Bas Relief. Both practised in France. By Mr. John Evelyn. "Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society," No. 6, p. 99 (vol. 1). Hutton's Abridg., vol. 1, p. 37.

A Letter of John Evelyn concerning the Spanish Sembrador, or new Engine for Ploughing and equal Sowing all sorts of Grain and Harrowing at once. "Phil. Trans.," No. 60, p. 1056 (vol. 5). Hutton's Abridg., vol. 1, p. 457.

A drill plough invented by an Austrian, but carried into Spain and there made use of.

An Abstract of a Letter from the Worshipful John Evelyn, Esq. sent to one of the Secretaries of the R. Society, concerning the dammage done to his Gardens by the preceding Winter. "Phil. Trans.," vol. 14, pp. 559. No. 158. (1684.)

Mr. Evelin of Deptford's letter concerning the Praiers for time of Invasion, &c., suggested by the E. of S. [Dated Oct. 10, 1688.] Tanner's MSS. in Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa, vol. i. pp. 414—416.

An Account of Bread, from the learned John Evelyn, Esquire; entituled, Panificium, or the several manners of making Bread in France, where, by universal consent the best Bread in the world is eaten. In *Houghton's* Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, No. 12 (p. 127).

Letter from J. Evelyn dated Sayes Court, Jan. 28, on the improvement of the English language. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1797, vol. lxvii. part i. pp. 218—219.

Letter from John Evelyn to Sir Hans Sloane on the errata in his Discourse on Medals. In Beloe's Anecdotes of Literature, 1807, vol. ii. pp. 430—431.

Letter to Aubrey, in the "History of Surrey," 1719. 8°. Vol. i. Reprinted in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, pp. 687—691.

Several Letters to and from Evelyn are printed in vol. vi. of "Pepys's Diary and Correspondence" (ed. Mynors Bright).

Letters to and from Evelyn in "Correspondence of Richard Bentley, D.D." London, 1842.

Two Letters from Meric Casaubon to "Evylin," in "Isaaci Casauboni Epistolæ, accedunt Merici Casauboni Epistolæ . . . curante Theodoro Janson ab Almeloveen. fol. Roterodami, 1709.

The authors of the "Biographia Britannica" say:—"The account which Mr. Boyle received from Mr. Evelyn[1] of the method used by the Italians for preserving snow in pits, is an admirable specimen of that care with which he registered his discoveries, as well as the curiosity which prompted him to enquire into every thing worthy of notice, either natural or artificial, in the countries through which he passed. It is much to be regretted that a work so entertaining and instructive as the History of his Travels would have been, appeared, even to so indefatigable a person as he was, a task too laborious for him to undertake; for we should then have seen clearly, and in a true light, many things in reference to Italy which are now very indistinctly and partially represented; and we should also have met with much new matter never touched before, and of which we shall now probably never hear at all."[2]

[1] Boyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 306.
[2] Biog. Brit. vol. v. p. 610, note D.

MANUSCRIPTS.

The following most curious and interesting relic of Evelyn was sold by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson, on Friday, March 7, 1873, for £36 10*s.*

Officium Sanctæ & Individuæ Trinitatis; or Privat Deuotions and Offices, composed and collected by John Evelyn, for his Annuall and Quotidian Use, with Calendar Table, etc. Manuscript, very beautifully written, by Richard Hoar, and signed by him.[1] Bound in old crimson morocco, with crest, and John Evelyn's monogram on the back, and the eight corners of sides of the binding. 12°. 1650.

This is a Book of Prayers, composed by Evelyn and presented by him to Mrs. Godolphin,[2] his "most excellent and estimable friend," with motto and device, in his Autograph at bottom of title,

Vn Dieu *un Amy:*

On the first fly-leaf is written, "Remember with what importunity you desired this booke of your Friend, Remember me for it in your Prayers," then follows "An Act of love: When the spirits sad:" "Breathings:" "An act of Remorse upon a deepe consideration of my sinnes," 7 pages, and at the end of the volume a "Morning and Evening Prayer," 10 pages, in the autograph of John

[1] "My servant, Ri. Hoare, an incomparable writer of several hands." Diary, vol. ii. p. 6. Hoare died May 17, 1653. *See* vol. ii. p. 47.

[2] "We often prayed, visited the sick and miserable, received, read, discoursed, and communicated in all holy offices together."—*Diary*, vol. ii. p. 342.

Evelyn. Throughout the book are curious MS. emendations by Mrs. Godolphin, those on pp. 188, 289-90, are curious as relating to the duties of a wife to her husband, and in the Calendar are inserted the following entries by J. E. and Mrs. G.:—

March 28, "I set forth from Paris 27 : 76."[1]
April 1, "Came to Calais : Remember."
„ 3, "Landed at Dover : 1676."
May 16, "I was married at the Temple."[2]
Aug. 2, "I was borne : 1652."[3]
Sept. 9, "My dear friend departed this life twixt 1 & 2 in ye afternoone: being Moneday, Whitehall, 1678."[4]
Oct. 16, "Remember me."
Nov. 15, "I went from Dover towards Paris, 1676."

An Exact Account of the making of Marbled Paper. By Mr. Evelin. *Register Book of the Royall Society*, vol. i. (No. 32). (Copy in the British Museum. Sloane MS.)

The Construction of the Rowling Press and manner how to work off the Plates. By Mr. Evelins. *Register Book of the Royall Society*, vol. i. (No. 39), Sloane MS.

[1] "I had now notice that my deare friend Mrs. Godolphin was returning from Paris."—*Diary*, vol. ii. p. 318.

[2] "This day was my deare friend Mrs. Blagg married at the Temple Church, to my friend Mr. Sidney Godolphin, Groome to the Bedchamber to his Majesty."—*Diary*, vol. ii. p. 309.

[3] "The second of August in the year 1652, a month and a year never to be forgotten."—Evelyn's "Life of Mrs. G.," p. 5.

[4] "She died in the 26th yeare of her age, to the inexpressible affliction . . . . of none in the world more than of myselfe, who lost the most excellent and estimable friend that ever liv'd. Never a more virtuous and inviolable friendship. How shall I ever repay the obligations to her for the infinite good offices she did my soule by so ingaging me to make religion the termes and tie of friendship there was between us."—*Diary*, vol. ii. p. 341.

Evelyn's Common Places and Memoranda. B. M. Add MS. 15,950. Purchased at Upcott's sale, 1846. A leaf in this volume has the following index of references in Evelyn's handwriting.

"In this Bundle or Roll, marked ⓐ, is contain'd the Excerpts & Collections casualy gather'd out of several authors, &c., and intended to have been transcrib'd into Adversaria, as applicable to several subjects, especialy those here mention'd.

The capital letter

R.	An Account of Religion. Imperfect.
C P or A. xlviii.	Adversaria. History, Philosophy, &c.
Agr.	Agriculture. For a parchment fol. a par^{l}.
S.	Sylva, to be inserted in the next edition of that book.
H E & HE.	To be inserted in what I begun & intended about Gardening and Horticulture, under the Title of 'Elysium' or Paradisus. Imperfect.
Pr.	Notes for the preface of 'Elysium.'
Ba.	On the History of Staves. Begun, intended, imperfect.
Br.	Concerning the Sagacity of Brute-Animals. Begun, but imperfect.
P.	Notes for the History & Art of Painting, Sculptur, &c. Begun, intended, altogether imperfect.
MSS.	A Discourse of Manuscripts. Begun, but imperfect.
N.	Notes to be inserted in 'Numismata & Physiognomy,' should it be reprinted.
℞.	Medicinal Receipts, &c., to be transcribed into my Receipt-Book."

British Museum, Add. MS. 15,950 fol. 80.

In this same volume are the following :—

Brevissimæ Græcæ Grammatices Institutiones.

A Compendium of the pronunciation of the ffrench toung.

The English Grammer. The first key.

The Latine Grammar. Being the second key.

Private and Official Letters and Papers by or addressed to Sir Richard Browne and his son in law John Evelyn. (313 letters and 26 portraits.)

British Museum, Add. MSS. 15,857, 15,858; collected by William Upcott and purchased at his sale (1846).

" Extract out of my Diary, Paris, 1651." In Smith MSS. (Bodleian Lib.) xxiii. (7) p. 29, also Baker MSS. (Cambridge Univ. Lib.) 36 (5).

Printed in Cosin's Correspondence (Surtees Soc.) vol. i. pp. 282—285.

At the sale of the Library of John Young, F.S.A., by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, & Hodge, in April, 1875, were some letters by Evelyn, and the prices they fetched prove the high estimation in which he is held. Lot 570, Letter to Thoresby (21 Dec. 1698), fetched £18, and Lot 571, Letter to Rev. R. F. Patrick, 27 Sept. 1670, fetched £17 10*s.*

For a note on other Manuscripts preserved at Wotton, and an Analysis of the *Elysium Britannicum.* See vol. iii. pp. 190—194.

The following books contain accounts of Evelyn :—

The Lives of James Usher, D.D., Archbishop of Armagh; Henry Hammond, D.D., Rector of Penshurst, Kent; Thomas Wilson, D.D., Bishop of Sodor and Man; and John Evelyn, Esq., author of "Sylva," &c. By the Rev. Richard B. Hone, M.A., Curate of Portsmouth. London (J. W. Parker), 1833. Sm. 8°. pp. viii. 379.

The Life of Evelyn occupies pp. 267—379.

Lives of Alfred the Great, Sir Thomas More, and John Evelyn. London (James Burns). 12°.

Each Life is separately paged.

Voyage de Lister a Paris en 1698, traduit pour la première fois, publié et annoté par la Société des Bibliophiles François; on y a joint des extraits des ouvrages d'Evelyn relatifs à ses voyages en France de 1648 à 1661. Paris, 1873. 8°. Half-title, title, pp. iii, xxviii, 344.

Contains a Life of Evelyn by E. De Sermizelles, list of his portraits, and considerable extracts from his Diary.

Professor John E. B. Mayor has contributed to "Notes and Queries" (Ser. 5, xii. 244) some references relating to Evelyn. These (which are extracted from his inexhaustible store of Biographical materials) he had previously allowed me to use, and I take this opportunity of publicly expressing my thanks to him for his kindness.

H. B. W.

[*Original Dedication.*]

TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQ.

OF

WOTTON IN SURREY.

SIR,

THE last sheets of this Work, with a Dedication to the late LADY EVELYN, under whose permission it was to be given to the Public, were in the hands of the Printer, when it pleased God to release her from a long and painful illness, which she had borne with the greatest fortitude and resignation to the Divine Will.

These papers descended, with the estate, from the celebrated JOHN EVELYN, Esq. (a relative of your immediate ancestor), to his great-great-grandson, the late Sir Frederick Evelyn, Bart. This gentleman dying without issue, entrusted the whole to his Lady, whose loss we have now to lament; of whose worth, and of the value of whose friendship, I have happily had long knowledge and experience. Alive to the honour of the family, of which she was thus made the representative, she maintained it in every point, and with the most active benevolence; and her care extended to every part of the property attached to the domain. Mr. Evelyn had formed in his own mind a

plan of what he called an "Elysium Britannicum," in which the Library and Garden were intended to be the principal objects: could he return and visit this his beloved seat, he would find his idea realized, by the arrangement and addition which her Ladyship had made to his library, and by the disposition of the flower-garden and green-house, which she had embellished with the most beautiful and curious flowers and plants, both native and exotic.

In completion and full justification of the confidence thus reposed in her, her Ladyship has returned the estate, with its valuable appendages, to the family, in your person.

I have, therefore, now to offer these Volumes to you, Sir, with a wish, that you and your posterity may long enjoy the possessions, and continue the line of a family so much distinguished in many of its branches, for superior worth and eminence.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
WILLIAM BRAY.

Shere, 2 Jan. 1818.

PREFACE, BY W. BRAY.

THE following pages are taken from the Journal of JOHN EVELYN, Esq. author (amongst many other works) of the celebrated "Sylva," a Treatise on Forest Trees, and from which he has often been known by the name of The Sylva Evelyn. The Journal is written by him in a very small, close hand, in a quarto volume containing 700 pages, which commences in 1641, and is continued to the end of 1697, and from thence is carried on in a smaller book till within about three weeks of his death, which happened 27 Feb. 1705-6, in the 86th year of his age.

These books, with numberless other papers in his hand-writing, are in the valuable Library at Wotton, which was chiefly collected by him. Lady Evelyn, the late possessor of that very respectable old Mansion, after much solicitation from many persons, consented to favour the Public with this communication. The last sheets were in the hands of the Printer, when the death of that Lady happened.

The Editor who has been intrusted with the preparation of the work for the press, is fully diffident of his competence to make a proper selection, and is even aware that many things will be found in its pages which, in the opinion of some, and not injudicious, Critics, may appear too unimportant to meet the public eye: but it has been thought that some

information, at least some amusement, would be furnished by the publication; it has been supposed that some curious particulars of persons and transactions would be found in the accompanying notes; and that, though these papers may not be of importance enough to appear in the pages of an Historian of the Kingdom, they may in some particulars set even such an one right; and though the notices are short, they may, as to persons, give some hints to Biographers, or at least may gratify the curiosity of those who are inquisitive after the mode in which their ancestors conducted business, or passed their time. It is hoped that such will not be altogether disappointed.

Thus, when mention is made of great men going *after dinner* to attend a Council of State, or the business of their particular Offices, or the Bowling Green, or even the Church; of an Hour's Sermon being of a moderate length; of Ladies painting their faces being a novelty; or of their receiving visits of Gentlemen whilst dressing, after having just risen out of bed; of the female attendant of a lady of fashion travelling on a pillion behind one of the footmen, and the footmen riding with swords; such things, in the view above-mentioned, may not be altogether incurious.

For many Corrections, and many of the Notes, the Editor acknowledges, with great pleasure and regard, that he is indebted to James Bindley, Esq.[1] of Somerset House, a Gentleman who possesses an invaluable Collection of the most rare Books and Pamphlets, and whose liberality in communications is equal to the ability afforded by such a collection.

He has also most cheerfully to acknowledge how

[1] Since the first edition of this Work, the Editor has to lament the loss of this valuable Friend; who died, in the 81st year of his age, Sept. 11, 1818, just as the printing of the second edition was begun.

much he is obliged for many historical notes and elucidations to a literary Gentleman very conversant with English History, whose name he would gladly give, were it not withheld by particular request, and whose research, through upwards of seven hundred contemporary volumes of Manuscripts and Tracts, has doubtless given additional interest to many of the Letters.

The Editor finally returns his best thanks to Mr. Upcott, of the London Institution, for the great and material assistance received from him in this Publication, besides his attention to the superintendance of the Press.

DIARY OF JOHN EVELYN.

I WAS borne at Wotton, in the county of Surrey, 31st Oct. 1620, after my Father had been married about 7 yeares,[1] and my Mother had borne him two daughters and one sonn, *viz.* Eliza 28th Nov. 1614; Jane 16 Feb. 1616; George 18 June, 1617. They had another sonn after me, Richard, born 4th Dec^{r}. 1622.

My Father, named Richard, was of a sanguine complexion, mixed with a dash of choler: his haire inclining to light, which tho' exceeding thick became hoary by that time he was 30 yeares of age; it was somewhat curled towards the extremity; his beard, which he wore a little picked, as the mode was, of a brownish colour, and so continued to the last, save that it was somewhat mingled with grey haires about his cheekes: which, with his countenance, was cleare, and fresh colour'd, his eyes quick and piercing, an ample fore-head, manly aspect; low of stature, but very strong. He was for his life so exact and

[1] He was married at St. Thomas's Church, Southwark, 27th Jan. 1613.

temperate, that I haue heard he had never been surprised by excesse, being ascetic and sparing. His wisdom was greate, and judgment most acute; of solid discourse, affable, humble, and in nothing affected; of a thriving, neate, silent, and methodical genius; discreetely severe, yet liberal on all just occasions, to his children, strangers, and servants; a lover of hospitality; of a singular and Christian moderation in all his actions; a Justice of the Peace and of the Quorum; he served his Country as High Sheriff for Surrey and Sussex together.[1] He was a studious decliner of honours and titles, being already in that esteem with his country that they could have added little to him besides their burden.[2] He was a person of that rare conversation, that upon frequent recollection, and calling to mind passages of his life and discourse, I could never charge him with the least passion or inadvertence. His estate was esteem'd about £4,000 per ann. well wooded and full of timber.

My Mother's name was Elianor, sole daughter[3] and heyresse of John Standsfield, Esq.; of an ancient and honorable family (though now extinct) in Shropshire, by his wife Elianor Comber of a good and well knowne house in Sussex. She was of proper personage; of a browne complexion; her eyes and haire of a lovely black; of constitution inclyned to a religious melancholy, or pious sadnesse; of a rare

[1] Formerly the two Counties had, in general, only one Sheriff, though sometimes distinct ones; in 1637 each County had its Sheriff, and so it has continued ever since.

[2] "R[d] the 29. Oct[r] 1630, of Rich[d] Evlinge of Wottone in the Countye of Surr' Esq; by waie of composic'one to the use of his Ma[tie], being appointed by his Ma[tie] Collecto[r] for the same, for his Fine for not appearinge at the time and place apoynted for receavinge order of K'hood, the somme of fivetey pound I say receaved

THO. CRYMES."

[3] She was born 17 Nov. 1598, near Lewes, in Sussex.

memory and most exemplary life; for œconomie and prudence esteemed one of the most conspicuous in her Country.

Thus much in briefe touching my parents; nor was it reasonable I should speake lesse of them to whom I owe so much.

Wotton, the mansion house of my Father, left him by my Grandfather, (now my eldest Brother's,) is situated in the most Southern part of the Shire, and though in a valley, yet really upon part of Lyth Hill, one of the most eminent in England [1] for the prodigious prospect to be seen from its sum'it, tho' by few observed. From it may be discerned 12 or 13 Counties, with part of the Sea on the Coast of Sussex, in a serene day; the house is large and ancient, suitable to those hospitable times, and so sweetely environed with those delicious streams and venerable woods, as in the judgement of Strangers as well as Englishmen it may be compared to one of the most tempting and pleasant Seates in the Nation, and most tempting for a great person and a wanton purse to render it conspicuous: it has rising grounds, meadows, woods, and water in abundance.

The distance from London little more than 20 miles,[2] and yet so securely placed as if it were 100; three miles from Dorking, which serves it abundantly with provision as well of land as sea; 6 from Gilford, 12 from Kingston.[3] I will say nothing of the ayre, because the præeminence is universally given to Surrey, the soil being dry and sandy; but I should speake much of the gardens, fountaines, and groves, that adorne it, were they not as generaly knowne to be amongst the most natural, and (til this later and universal luxury of the whole nation, since

[1] 993 feet.
[2] Computed miles; it is a little more than 26 measured miles.
[3] 8, and 14.

abounding in such expenses) the most magnificent that England afforded, and which indeede gave one of the first examples to that elegancy since so much in vouge, and follow'd in the managing of their waters, and other ornaments of that nature. Let me add, the contiguity of five or six Mannors,[1] the patronage of the livings about it, and, what is none of the least advantages, a good neighbourhood. All which conspire to render it fit for the present possessor, my worthy Brother, and his noble lady,[2] whose constant liberality give them title both to the place and the affections of all that know them. Thus, with the poet,

> Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine cunctos
> Ducit, et im'emores non sinit esse sui.

1624. I was not initiated into any rudiments till neere four yeares of age, and then one Frier taught us at the church porch of Wotton; and I do perfectly remember the greate talke and stirr about il Conde Gundamar, Ambass^r^ from Spain (for near about this time was the match of our Prince with the Infanta proposed).

1625. I was this year sent by my Father to Lewes in Sussex, to be with my Grandfather Standsfield, with whom I passed my childhood. This was the year in which the pestilence was so epidemical that there dy'd in London 5,000 a week; and I well remember the strict watches and examinations upon the ways as we passed.

1626. My picture was drawn in oyle by one Chanterell, no ill painter.

1627. My Grandfather Stansfield dyed this yeare on 5 Feb.: I remember the solemnity at his funeral.

[1] 7 Manors, 2 Advowsons, and a Chapel of Ease.
[2] Lady Cotton, widow of Sir John Cotton.

He was buried in the parish church of All Soules, where my Grandmother, his second wife, erected him a pious monument. About this time was the consecration of the Church of South Malling, near Lewes, the building whereof was chiefly procured by my Grandfather, who having the Impropriation, gave £20 a-year out of it to this Church. I afterwards sold the Impropriation. I layd one of the first stones at the building of the Church, which was consecrated by Bishop Field, Bishop of Oxf^d^, the sermon being preached by Mr. Coxhall, afterwards minister there.

It was not till the yeare 1628 that I was put to learne my Latine rudiments, and to write, of one Citolin, a Frenchman, in Lewes. I was put to schoole to Mr. Potts, in the Cliffe at Lewes, and in 1630, from thence to the Free-schole at Southover neere the town, of which one Agnes Morley had been the foundresse, and now Edward Snatt was the master, under whom I remained till I was sent to the University.[1] This yeare my Grandmother (w^th^ whom I sojourn'd) being married to one Mr. Newton, a learned and most religious gent. we went from the Cliff to dwell at his house in Southover.

1631. There happen'd an extraordinary dearth in England, corne bearing an excessive price; and, in imitation of what I had seene my Father do, I began to observe matters more punctualy, which I did use to set down in a blanke almanac.

Oct. 21st, 1632. My eldest Sister was married to Edw^d^ Darcy, Esq; who little deserved so excellent a person. I was soone afterwards sent for into Surrey, and my Father would willingly have weaned me from my fondness of my too indulgent Grandmother, intending to have placed me at Eaton; but I was so

[1] Long after, Mr. Evelyn paid great respect to this gentleman, as appears by his letters.

terrified at the report of the severe discipline there, that I was sent back to Lewes, which perverseness of mine I have since a thousand times deplor'd. Whiles I was now trifling at home I saw London, where I lay one night onely. The next day I dined at Beddington, where I was much delighted with the gardens and curiosities. Thence we returned to the Lady Darcy's at Sutton, thence to Wotton, and the 16th of Aug. 1633, back to Lewes.

1634. My Father was appointed Sheriff for Surrey and Sussex before they were disjoyned. He had 116 servants in liverys, every one livery'd in greene sattin doublets; divers gentlemen and persons of quality waited on him in the same garbe and habit, which at that time (when 30 or 40 was the usual retinue of the High Sheriff) was esteem'd a great matter. Nor was this out of the least vanity that my Father exceeded (who was one of the greatest decliners of it), but because he could not refuse the civility of his friends and relations, who voluntarily came themselves, or sent in their servants. But my Father was afterwards most unjustly and spitefully molested by y^t^ jeering judge Richardson,[1] for repreeving the execution of a woman, to gratifie my L. of Lindsey, then Admiral; but out of this he emerged with as much honor as trouble.

Dec. 15th, 1634. My Sister Darcy departed this life, being arriv'd to her 20 yeare of age, in vertue advanc'd beyond her yeares, or the merit of her hus-

[1] He was made a Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1626, and of the King's Bench in 1631. There is a monument for him in Westminster Abbey. Fuller says he lived too near the time to speake fully of him. He took on him to issue an order against keeping wakes on Sundays, which Laud, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, took up as an infringement of the rights of Bishops, and got him severely reprimanded at the Council Table. He was owner of Starborough Castle in Lingfield in Surrey. Manning and Bray's History of Surrey, vol. ii. p. 345.

band, the worst of men. She had been brought to bed the 2d of June before, but the infant died soon after her. My Sister was interr'd in a very honorable manner in our dormitory joyning to the parish church,[1] where now her monument stands.

1635. My deare Mother departed this life upon the 29th September, about the 37th of her age and 22d of her marriage; her death hastened by excessive grief for the losse of her daughter. When near her death, she summoned all her children then living (I shall never forget it), and express'd herself in a manner so heavenly, with instructions so pious and Christian, as made us strangely sensible of the extraordinary losse then imminent; after which, embracing every one of us, she gave to each a ring, with her blessing. Then taking my Father by the hand, she recom'ended us to his care; and having importun'd him that what he design'd to bestow on her funeral he would rather dispose among ye poore, she labour'd to compose herselfe for the blessed change which she now expected. There was not a servant in the house whom she did not expressly send for, advise, and infinitely affect with her counsell.

Though her Physicians, Dr. Merwell, Dr. Clement, and Dr. Rand, had given over all hopes of her recovery, and Sr Sanders Duncombe tried his celebrated and famous powder, she was many days impairing, and endur'd the sharpest conflicts of her sicknesse with admirable patience and most Christian resignation, retaining her intellectuals and ardent affections for her dissolution to the very article of her departure. When near her dissolution, she laid her hand on every one of her children, and taking solemn leave of my Father, with elevated heart and eyes she quietly expired, and resign'd her soule to God.

[1] Of Wotton.

She was interr'd, as neere as might be, to her daughter Darcy, the 3d of October, at night, but with no meane ceremony.

[1]1636. This yeare being extreamely dry, the pestilence much increased in London and divers parts of England.

Feb. 13th. I was admitted into the Middle Temple, London, though absent, and as yet at schoole.

April 3d, 1637. I left schoole, where, till about the last yeare, I had been extreamly remisse in my studies, so as I went to the Universitie rather out of shame of abiding longer at schoole, than for any fitnesse, as by sad experience I found, which put me to re-learne all that I had neglected, or but perfunctorily gain'd.

May 10th. I was admitted a fellow com'uner of Baliol College, Oxford, and on the 29th I was matriculated in the Vestry at St. Marie's, where I subscribed the Articles and took the oaths, Dr. Baily, head of St. John's, being Vice Chancelor, afterwards Bp. The Fellow Com'uners in Balliol were no more exempt from Exercise than the meanest scholars there, and my Father sent me thither to one Mr. George Bradshaw (*nomen invisum!* yet the son of an excellent father, beneficed in Surrey[2]). I ever thought my Tutor had parts enough, but as his ambition made him much suspected of y^e^ College, so his grudge to Dr. Lawrence, the governor of it, (whom he afterwards supplanted,) tooke up so much of his tyme, that he seldom or never had the opportunity to discharge his duty to his scholars. This I perceiving, associated myself with one Mr. James

[1] An account of the visit made by K. Charles I. and his Queen to the University of Oxford, in Sept. 1636, is given at page 175 of the third volume, in a letter from George Evelyn, Esq. to his Father.

[2] Rector of Ockham.

Thicknesse, (then a young man of the Foundation, afterwards a Fellow of the House,) by whose learned and friendly conversation I received great advantage. At my first arrival, Dr. Parkhurst was Master; and after his discease, Dr. Lawrence, a chaplaine of his Ma'ties and Margaret Professor, succeeded, an acute and learned person; nor do I much reproch his severity, considering that the extraordinary remissenesse of discipline had (til his coming) much detracted from the reputation of that Colledg.

There came in my tyme to the Coll: one Nathaniel Conopios out of Greece, from Cyrill the Patriarch of Constantinople, who returning many years after, was made (as I understand) Bishop of Smyrna. He was the first I ever saw drink coffee, w^{ch} custom came not into England till 30 years after.

After I was somewhat settled there in my formalities (for then was the University exceedingly regular, under the exact discipline of William Lawd, Archbishop of Canterbury, then Chancelor), I added, as benefactor to the Library of the Coll. these books:

Zanchii Opera, vols. 1, 2, 3.

Granado in Thomam Aquinatem, vols. 1, 2, 3.

Novarini Electa sacra and Cresolii Anthologia sacra, authors (it seems) desired by the students of Divinity there.

1637. At Christmas the Gentlemen of Exeter College presented a Comedy to the University.

I was admitted into the dauncing and vaulting Schole, of which late activity one Stokes, the Master, set forth a pretty book, which was publish'd with many witty elogies before it.[1]

[1] It being now become extremely scarce, the title of it is here given: "The Vaulting Master, or the Art of Vaulting. Reduced to a method comprized under certain Rules. Illustrated by examples, and now primarily set forth, by Will. Stokes. Printed

1638. My father order'd that I should begin to manage myne owne expenses, which till then my Tutor had done; at which I was much satisfied.

1639. I began to look on the rudiments of musick, in which I afterwards arriv'd to some formal knowledge, though to small perfection of hand, becaus I was so frequently diverted by inclinations to newer trifles.

May 20th. Accompany'd with one Mr. Jo. Crafford, (who afterwards being my fellow-traveller in Italy there chang'd his religion,) I tooke a journey of pleasure to see y^e^ Sumersetshire Bathes, Bristoll, Cirencester, Malmesbury, Abington, and divers other townes of lesser note, and returned the 25th.

Jan. 21st, 1640. Came my Bro. Richard from schole to be my chamber-fellow at the University. He was admitted the next day, and matriculated the 31st.

April 11th. I went to London to see the solemnity of his Ma^ties^ riding through the Citty in state to the Short Parliament, which began the 13th following, a very glorious and magnificent sight, the King circled with his royal diademe and the affections of his people.

April 27th. I went to London to be resident in the Middle Temple. My being at the University, in regard of these avocations, was of very small benefit to me.

May 5th was the Parliament unhappily dissolved.

May 20th. I return'd with my Bro. George to Wotton, who on the 28th of the same month was

for Richard Davis, in Oxon, 1655." A small oblong quarto, with the author's portrait prefixed, and a number of plates beautifully engraved (most probably by Glover) representing feats of activity on horseback that appear extraordinary ones at this time of day. From the communication of the late James Bindley, Esq. a gentleman whose collection of scarce and valuable books was perhaps hardly to be equalled.

CHARLES the FIRST.

May 30 1800 by J. Scott 442 Strand

married at Aldbury to Mrs. Caldwell (an heiress of ancient Leicestershire family).[1]

June 10th. I repaired with my Brother to the Tearme, to goe into our new lodgings, (that were formerly in Essex Court,) being a very handsome apartment just over against the Hall-Court, but four payre of stayres high, w'ch gave us the advantage of the fairer prospect, but did not much contribute to the love of that impolish'd study, to which (I suppose) my Father had design'd me, when he paid £145 to purchase our present lives, and assignments afterwards.

London, and especially the Court, were at this period in frequent disorders, and greate insolencies were com'itted by the abus'd and too happy City: in particular the Bish. of Canterbury's Palace at Lambeth was assaulted by a rude rabble from Southwark; my Lord Chamberlayne imprison'd, and many scandalous libells and invectives scatter'd about the streetes, to y^e^ reproch of Government and the fermentation of our since distractions.

June 27th. My Father's indisposition augmenting, by advice of the physitians he repaired to the Bathe.

July 7th. My brother Geo. and I, understanding y^e^ perill my Father was in, upon a suddaine attaq of his infirmity, rod post from Guildford towards him, and found him extraordinary weake; but on 8 Sept. I returned home with him in his litter.

October 15th. I went to the Temple, it being Michaelmas Tearme.[2]

30th. I saw his Ma'tie (com'ing from his Northern Expedition) ride in pomp, and a kind of ovation,

[1] A daughter of Daniel Caldwell, Esq. by Mary, daughter of Geo. Duncomb, Esq. of Aldbury. She died May 15th, 1644, and he afterwards married the widow of Sir John Cotton.

[2] The Term then began in October.

with all the markes of an happy peace, restor'd to the affections of his people, being conducted through London with a most splendid cavalcade; and on 3 Nov. following (a day never to be mention'd without a curse) to that long, ungratefull, foolish, and fatall Parliament, the beginning of all our sorrows for twenty yeares after, and the period of the most happy Monarch in the world: *Quis talia fando!*[1]

My Father's disorder appeared to be a dropsy, an indisposition the most unsuspected, being a person so exemplaryly temperate, and of admirable regimen, hastened me back to Wotton, where on the 24th Dec. he died, that excellent man and indulgent parent retaineing his senses and piety to the last, which he most tenderly expressed in blessing us, whom he now left to the world, and the worst of times, whilst he was taken from the evill to come.

1641. It was a sad and lugubrous beginning of y^e^ yeare, when on the 2d of January we at night followed the mourning hearse to the Church at Wotton; when, after a sermon and funebral oration by the minister, my Father was interr'd neere his formerly erected monument, and mingled with the ashes of our Mother, his deare wife. Thus we were bereft of both our parents in a period when we most of all stood in need of theire counsell and assistance, especially myselfe, of a raw, vaine, uncertaine, and very unwary inclination; but so it pleased God to make tryall of my conduct in a conjuncture of the greatest and most prodigious hazard that ever the youth of England saw: and if I did not amidst all this peach my liberty, nor my vertue, with the rest who made shipwreck of both, it was more the infinite

[1] Notwithstanding this expression, it will afterwards appear that Mr. Evelyn by no means approved of arbitrary or tyrannical measures.

goodnesse and mercy of God then the least providence or discretion of myne own, who now thought of nothing but the pursuite of vanity, and the confused imaginations of young men.

Aprill 15th. I repair'd to London, to heare and see the famous tryall of the Earl of Strafford, Lord Deputy of Ireland, who on 22d March before had been summon'd before both Houses of Parliament, and now appear'd in Westminster Hall, which was prepar'd with scaffolds for the Lords and Com'ons, who together with the King, Queene, Prince, and flower of the Noblesse, were spectators and auditors of the greatest malice and the greatest innocency that ever met before so illustrious an assembly. The Earle of Arundell and Surrey, Earle Martiall of England, was made High Steward upon this occasion, and the sequel is too well known.

27th. Came over from Holland the young Prince of Orange, with a splendid equipage, to make love to his Ma'ties eldest daughter, the now Princess Royall.

That evening was celebrated the pompous funerall of the Duke of Richmond, who was carried in effigie in an open charriot thro' London in great solemnity.

May 12th. I beheld on Tower Hill the fatal stroake which sever'd the wisest head in England from the shoulders of the Earle of Strafford; whose crime coming under the cognizance of no human law, a new one was made, not to be a precedent, but his destruction; to such exorbitancy were things arived.

June 28th. I went from Wotton to London with my sister Jane, and the day after sate to one Vanderborcht for my picture in oyle, which I presented to her, being her request, upon my resolutions to absent myselfe from this ill face of things at home, which gave umbrage to wiser than myselfe, that the medaill was reversing, and our calamities but yet in their infancy.

The 16th July, having procur'd a passe at the Costome-house, where I repeated my oathe of allegiance, I went to Graves-end, accompany'd with one Mr. Caryll and our servants, with a purpose to take the first opportunity of a passage for Holland : but the wind as yet not favourable, we had tyme to view the Blocke-house of that towne, which answered to another over against it at Tilberry, famous for the rendezvous of Queene Eliz. in the year 1588, which we found stored with 20 pieces of cannon and other ammunition proportionable. On the 19th we rode to Rochester and Chatham, to see the Sovraigne, a monstrous vessel so called, being for burthen, defense, and ornament, the richest that ever spread cloth before the wind,[1] and especialy for this remarkable, that her building cost his Ma'tie the affections of his subjects, who quarrell'd with him for a trifle, as it was managed by some of his seacret enemys, who made this an occasion, refusing to contribute either to their own safety or his glory.

21st. We embarqued in a Dutch Fregat, bound for Flushing, convoyed and accompanied by five other stoute vessells, whereof one was a man of war. The next day at noon we landed safely at Flushing.

Being desirous to overtake the Leagure,[2] which was then before Genep,[3] 'ere the Summer should be too far expir'd, we went this evening to Midelbrogh and Der Veer. From Der Veer we passed over many

[1] Accidentally burnt at Chatham in 1696.

[2] Mr. Evelyn means, by this expression, to be in time to witness the siege, &c.

[3] On the Waal—a place which having been greatly strengthened by the Cardinal Infante D. Fernando in 1635, was at this time besieged by the French and Dutch. There is a full account of the siege in the great work of Aitzema, a man who with extraordinary patience compiled materials for the History of the United Provinces during the great part of the seventeenth century. One of his brothers was mortally wounded at this siege.

PRINCESS ELIZABETH QUEEN of BOHEMIA.

From a Unique Print.

in the Collection of the Hon^ble Leonard Sutherland Esq^r

townes, houses, and ruines of demolish'd suberbs, &c., which have formerly been swallow'd up by the sea, at what time no less than eight of those Ilands had been irrecoverably lost.

The next day we ariv'd at Dort, the first towne of Holland, furnish'd with all German commodities, and especialy Rhenish wines and timber. It hath almost at the extremity a very spacious and venerable Church; a stately Senat-house, wherein was holden that famous Synod against the Arminians in 1618, and in that hall hangeth a picture of the *Passion*, an exceeding rare and much esteemed piece.

From Dort, being desirous to hasten towards the Army, I tooke wagon to Roterdam, where we were hurried in lesse than an houre, though it be ten miles distant, so furiously do these Fore-men drive. I saw the publiq statue of the learn'd Erasmus, of brasse. They shew'd us his House, or rather the meane Cottage wherein he was borne, over which there were extant these lines in capital letters:

ÆDIBUS HIS ORTUS, MUNDUM DECORAVIT ERASMUS
ARTIBUS INGENUIS, RELIGIONE, FIDE.

The 26th I passed through Delft to the Hague; in which journey I observ'd divers leprous poor creatures dwelling in solitary huts on the brink of the water, and permitted to aske the charity of passengers, which is convey'd to them in a floating box that they cast out.

Arriv'd at the Hague, I went first to the Queene of Bohemia's Court, where I had the honour to kisse her Majesty's hand and severall of the Princesses her daughters; Prince Maurice was also there newly come out of Germany, and my Ld. Finch, not long before fled out of England from the fury of the Parliament. It was a fasting-day with the Queene, for the unfortunate death of her husband; and the Pre-

sence Chamber had been hung with black velvet ever since his discease.

The 28th I went to Leyden; and the 29th to Utricht. We then came to Rynen, where the Queene of Bohemia hath a neate Palace or Country-house, built after the Italian manner as I remember. Then by Nimeguen. And, 2d of August, ariv'd at the Leagure, where was then the whole Army encamped about Genep, a strong castle situated on the river Wahale; but being taken 4 or 5 days before, we had only a sight of the demolitions. The next Sunday was the thanksgiving sermons perform'd in Col. Goreing's Regiment (eldest sonne of the since Earle of Norwich) by Mr. Goffe his Chaplaine (now turned Roman and Father Confessor to the Queene-Mother). The evening was spent in firing canon, and other expressions of military triumphes.

Now, according to the compliment, I was received a Volunteere in the Company of Cap. Apsley, of whose Capt. Lieutennant Honywood (Apsley being absent) I received many civilities.

August 3rd, at night, we rod about the lines of circumvallation, the Gener'll being then in the field. The next day I was accom'odated with a very spacious and com'odious tent for my lodging, as before I was with an horse, which I had at com'and, and an hutt, which during the excessive heates was a greate conveniency, for the sunn piercing the canvass of the tent, it was, during the day, unsufferable, and at night not seldome infested with mists and foggs, which ascended from the river.

August 6th. As the turne came about, I watched on a horne worke neere our quarters, and trailed a pike, being the next morning reliev'd by a company of French. This was our continual duty till the Castle was re-fortified, and all danger of quitting that station secured.

The 7th I went to see a Convent of Franciscan Friers, not far from our tents; the Chapell and Refectory full of the goods of such poor people as at the approch of the Army had fled with them thither for sanctuary. On the day following I went to view all the trenches, aproches, and mines of the Besiegers, and in particular I tooke speciall notice of the wheelbridg, which engine his Excellency had made to run over the moate when they storm'd the castle, as it is since described (with all the other particulars of this siege) by the author of that incomparable worke *Hollandia Illustrata*. The walls and ramparts of earth, which a mine had broaken and crumbled, were of prodigious thicknesse.

8th. I din'd in the Horse quarters with Sir Robert Stone and his Lady, Sir William Stradling, and divers Cavaliers, where there was very good cheere, but hot service for a young drinker as I then was; so that being pretty well satisfied with the confusion of Armies and Sieges (if such that of the United Provinces may be called, where their quarters and encampments are so admirably regular, and orders so exactly observed as few Cittys exceede it for all conveniences), I tooke my leave of the Leagure and Camerades.

August 12th I embarked on the Waal, in company with three grave Divines, who entertayn'd us a greate part of our passage with a long dispute concerning the lawfulnesse of Church Musick. We touch'd at a pretty towne, Bommell, that had divers English in garrison. It stands upon Contribution land, which subjects the environs to the Spanish incursions. We sailed also by an exceeding strong fort called Lovestine, famous for the escape of the learned Grotius, whose lady conveyed him out as a trunk of books. We lay at Gorcum, a very strong and considerable frontier.

13th. We arrived late at Roterdam, where was their annual marte or faire, so furnished with pictures (especially Landskips and Drolleries, as they call those clounish representations) that I was amaz'd. Some of these I bought and sent into England. The reason of this store of pictures and their cheapenesse proceedes from their want of land to employ their stock, so as tis an ordinary thing to find a com'on Farmer lay out two or £3,000 in this com'odity. Their houses are full of them, and they vend them at their faires to very greate gaines. Here I first saw an Eliphant and a Pelican.

17th. I passed againe thro' Delft, and visited the Church, where was the monument of Prince William of Nassau, and his sonn and successor, Grave Maurice. The Senat-house hath a very stately Portico, supported with very choyse pillars of black marble, as I remember, of one entire stone. Within, there hangs a weighty vessell of wood, not unlike a Butter Churne, which the adventurous woman that hath two husbands at one time is to weare for a time about the towne, her head com'ing out at the hole, and the rest hanging on her shoulders, as a pennance for her incontinency. From hence we went the next day to see Risewick, a stately country-house of the Prince of Orange, for nothing more remarkable than the delicious walkes planted with lime trees, and the moderne paintings within.

August 19th. We visited the Hoff or Prince's Court at the Hague, with the adjoining gardens, which were full of ornament, close-walks, statues, marbles, grotts, fountains, and artificiall musiq.[1] There is to this Palace a stately Hall, not much inferior to ours of Westminster, hung round with colours and other trophys taken from the Spanyards;

[1] As at Enstone in Oxfordshire; see afterwards.

and the sides below are furnish'd with shopps.[1] Next day I return'd to Delft, and thence to Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Haerlem, and Amsterdam, where I went to a Synagogue of the Jews, being Saturday; the ceremonies, ornaments, lamps, law, and scholes, afforded matter for my wonder and enquiry. The women were secluded from the men, being seated above in galleries, and having their heads muffled with linnen after a fantasticall and somewhat extraordinary fashion. They have a seperate burying-ground, full of sepulchres with Hebrew inscriptions, some of them very stately. In one of these monuments, looking through a narrow crevice, I perceiv'd divers bookes lye about a corpse, for it seems when any learned Rabbi dies, they bury some of his bookes with him. With the help of a stick I raked out some of the leaves, written in Hebrew characters, but much impaired.—As we returned we stepp'd in to see the Spin-house, a kind of Bridewell, where incorrigible and lewd women are kept in discipline and labour, but all neate.—We were shew'd an Hospital for poor travellers and pilgrimes, built by Queene Eliz. of England; and another maintained by the Citty.

The State or Senat-house of this Towne, if the designe be perfected, will be a magnificent piece of architecture, especialy for the materialls and the carvings. In the Doole is paynted on a very large table Marie de Medice's statue to the breast, supported by foure royal diademes, the worke of one Vandall, who hath set his name thereon, 1 September 1638.

Upon Soneday I went to heare an English sermon at the Presbyterian Congregation, where they had chalked upon a slate the psalmes that were to be

[1] Westminster Hall used to be so in Term-time and the sitting of Parliament, in the beginning of the reign of George III.

sung, so that all the congregation might see it without the bidding of a Cleark. After such an age no minister was permitted to preach, but had his maintenance continu'd during life.

I now expressely changed my lodgings out of a desire to converse amongst the Sectaries that swarm'd in this Citty. It was at a Brownist's house, where we had an extraordinary good table. There was in pension with us my Lord Keeper Finch, and one Sir Jo. Fotherbee. Here I also found an English Carmelite, with an Irish gentleman. I went to see the Weese-house, a foundation like our Charter-house, for the education of decay'd persons, orphans, and poore children, where they are taught several occupations. The girls are so well brought up to housewifry, that men of good worth who seeke that chiefly in a woman, frequently take their wifes from this seminary. Hence we went to see the Rasp-house, where the lusty knaves are compell'd to worke, and the rasping of Brasill and Logwood is very hard labour. Thence to the Dull-house, for madmen and fooles. But none did I so much admire as an Hospitall for their lame and decrepid souldiers, it being for state, order, and acom'odations, one of the worthiest things that the world can shew of that nature. Indeede it is most remarkable what provisions are here made and maintain'd for publiq and charitable purposes, and to protect the poore from misery, and the country from beggers.

On Sonday morning about 11, after their sermons were ended, I went to see their Dog-market, which lasts till two in the afternoone. I do not look on the structure of the Exchange to be comparable to that of Sir Tho. Gresham in our Citty of London, yet in one respect it exceeds, that ships of considerable burthen ride at the very key contiguous to it. It is by extraordinary industry that as well this Citty, as

generaly the townes of Holland, are so acom'odated w^th^ graffs, cutts, sluces, moles, and rivers, that nothing is more frequent then to see a whole navy of marchands and others environ'd with streetes and houses, every man's barke or vessell at anker before his very doore; and yet the streete so exactly straite, even, and uniforme, that nothing can be more pleasing, especialy being so frequently planted and shaded with the beautifull lime-trees, set in rows before every man's house.

The next day we were entertain'd at a kind of tavern called the Briloft, appertaining to a rich Anabaptist, where, in the upper romes of the house were divers pretty waterworkes, rising 108 foote from the ground; here were many quaint devices, fountaines, artificiall musiq, noyses of beasts, and chirping of birds, &c. There was a lamp of brasse, with eight socketts from the middle stem, like those we use in churches, having counterfeit tapers in them, streams of water issuing as out of their wickes, the whole branch hanging loose upon a tach in the middst of a beame, and without any other perceptible com'erce with any pipe, so that, unlesse it were by compression of the ayre with a syringe, I could not comprehend how it should be don. There was a chime of purselan dishes, which fitted to clock-worke and rung many changes and tunes.

The Keisers Graft, or Emperors Streete, appears a citty in a wood through the goodly ranges of the stately lime-trees planted before each man's doore, and at the margent of that goodly aquæ-duct, or river, so curiously wharfed with clincars (a kind of white sun-bak'd brick), and of which material the spacious streetes on either side are paved. This part of Amsterdam is gained upon the maine Sea, supported by piles at an im'ense charge. Prodigious it is to consider the multitude of vessels

which continualy ride before this Citty, which is certainly the most busie concourse of mortalls now upon the whole earth, and the most addicted to com'erce.

The Turrets or Steeples are adorned after a particular manner for cost and invention; the Chimes of Bells are so rarely manag'd, that being curious to know whether the motion were from any engine, I went up to that of St. Nicholas (as I take it), where I found one who play'd all sorts of compositions from the tablature before him, as if he had fingered an organ, for so were the hammers fastened with wires to several keys, put into a frame 20 foote below the bells, upon which (by helpe of a wooden instrument, not much unlike a weaver's shuttle, that guarded his hand) he struck on the keys and play'd to admiration: all this while through the clattering of the wires, din of the too neerely sounding bells, and noise that his wooden gloves made, the confusion was so greate that it was impossible for the musitian, or any that stood neere him, to heare any thing himselfe; yet to those at a distance, and especialy in the streetes, the harmony and the time were the most exact and agreeable.

The South church is richly paved with black and white marble: the West is a new fabriq. Generaly there are in all the Churches in Holland, organs, lamps, monuments, &c. carefully preserved from the fury and impiety of popular reformers, whose zeale has foolishly transported them in other places rather to act like mad-men than religious.

I went to Hundius's shop to buy some mapps, greatly pleased with the designes of that indefatigable person. Mr. Bleaw, the setter forth of the Atlas's and other workes of that kind, is worthy seeing. At another shop I furnish'd myself with some shells and Indian curiosities.

Towards the end of August I returned againe to Haerlem by the river 10 miles in length, straighte as a line and of competent breadth for ships to saile by one another. They shew'd us a cottage where, they told us, dwelt a woman who had been married to her 25th husband, and being now a widdow was prohibited to marry in future, yet it could not be proved that she had ever made any of her husbands away, though the suspicion had brought her divers times to trouble.

Haerlem is a very delicate towne, and hath one of the fairest Churches, of the Gotiq designe, I had ever seene. There hang in the steeple, w^h^ is very high, two silver bells said to have ben brought from Damiate in Egypt by an Earle of Holland, in memory of whose successe they are rung out every evening. In the Nave hang the goodliest branches of brasse for tapers that I had seene, esteem'd of great value for the curiosity of the workmanship; also a faire payre of organs, which I could not find they made use of in divine service, or so much as to assist them in singing psalmes, but only for shewe, and to recreate the people before and after their devotions, whilst the Burgomasters were walking and conferring about their affaires.—Near the west window hang two modells of shipps compleately equipp'd, in memory of that invention of saws under their keeles with which they cutt the chayne before the Port of Damiate. Having vissited this Church, the Fish-market, and made some enquiry about the Printing-house, the invention whereof is sayd to have been in this towne, I returned to Leyden.

At Leyden I was carried up to the Castle, or Pyrgus, built on a very steepe artificial mount, cast up (as reported) by Hengist the Saxon on his returne out of England, as a place to retyre to in case of any sudden inundations.

The Churches are many and very fayre; in one of them lyes interr'd that prodigy of learning, the noble and illustrious Joseph Scaliger, without any extraordinary inscription, as having himself left so many monuments of his worth behind him, more lasting than marble, besides giving his Library to this University.

28th. I went to see their Colledge and Schooles, which are nothing extraordinary, and was matriculated by the then *magnificus* Professor, who first in Latine demanded of me where my lodging in the towne was, my name, age, birth, and to what faculty I addicted myself; then, recording my answers in a booke, he administered an oath to me that I should observe the statutes and orders of the University whiles I stay'd, and then deliver'd me a ticket by virtue whereof I was made excise-free, for all which worthy privileges and the paines of writing, he accepted of a rix-dollar.

Here was the famous Dan. Heinsius, whom I so long'd to see, as well as the Elzivirian printing-house and shop, renown'd for the politeness of the character and editions of what he has publish'd through Europe. I visited their garden of simples, w^{ch} was indeede well stor'd with exotic plants, if the Catalogue presented to me by the Gardiner be a faithfull register.

But amongst all the rarities of this place, I was much pleased with a sight of their Anatomy schole, theater, and repository adjoyning, which is well furnish'd with natural curiosities; skeletons from the whale and eliphant to the fly and spider, which last is a very delicate piece of art, to see how the bones (if I may so call them) of so tender an insect could be seperated from the mucilaginous parts of y^{t} minute animal. Amongst a great variety of other things, I was shewn the knife newly taken out of a

drunken Dutchman's guts by an incision in his side, after it had slipped from his fingers into his stomach. The pictures of the chyrurgeon and his patient, both living, were there.

There is without the Towne a faire Maill curiously planted.

Returning to my lodging, I was shew'd the statue, cut in stone, of the happy Monke whom they report to have been the first inventor of Typography, set over the doore; but this is much controverted by others, who strive for the glory of it, besides John Guttenberg.

I was brought acquainted with a Burgundian Jew who had married an apostate Kentish woman. I asked him divers questions; he told me, amongst other things, that the world should never end, that our soules transmigrated, and that even those of the most holy persons did pennance in the bodys of bruits after death, and so he interpreted the banishment and salvage life of Nebuchadnezzar; that all the Jewes should rise againe and be led to Jerusalem; that the Romans only were the occasion of our Saviour's death, whom he affirm'd (as the Turks do) to be a greate Prophet, but not the Messias; he shewed me severall bookes of their devotion, w^ch^ he had translated into English for the instruction of his wife; he told me that when the Messias came, all the ships, barkes, and vessells of Holland should, by the powere of certaine strange whirle-winds, be loosed from their ankers and transported in a moment to all the desolat ports and havens throughout the world where ever the dispersion was, to convey their breathren and tribes to the holy Citty; with other such like stuff. He was a merry drunken fellow.

Sept. 1st. I went to Delft and Roterdam, and two days after, back to the Hague, to bespeake a suite of armore which I caused to be made to fit me,

with the harnesse of a horseman. As I returned, I diverted to see one of the Prince's Palaces, called The Hoff Van Hounslers Dyck, a very magnificent cloyster'd and quadrangular building. The gallery is prettily paynted with severall Huntings, and at one end a Gordian knot, with several rusticall instruments so artificially represented as to deceive an accurate eye, to distinguish it from actual relievo. The ceiling of the staire-case is painted with the Rape of Ganymede, and other pendent figures, the worke of F. Covenberg, of whose hand I bought an excellent drollery, which I afterwards parted with to my brother George of Wotton, where it now hangs.[1] To this Palace joynes a faire garden and parke, curiously planted w^th^ limes.

Sept. 8th. To Rotterdam thro' Delfts-haven and Seedam, where was at that time Col: Goring's winter quarters. This towne has heretofore been much talk'd of for witches.

10th. I took wagon for Dort, to be present at y^e^ reception of the Queene Mother, Maria de Medices, Dowager of France, Widdow of Henry the Greate, and Mother to the French King Lewis xiij and the Queene of England, whence she newly arrived, toss'd to and fro by the various fortune of her life. From this Citty she design'd for Collin [Cologne], conducted by the Earle of Arundell and the Here Van Brederod. At this interview I saw the Princesse of Orange, and the Lady her daughter, afterwards married to the House of Brandenbourg. There was little remarkable in this reception befitting the greatnesse of her person, but an universal discontent, which accompany'd that unlucky woman wherever she went.

Sept. 12th. I went towards Bois le Duke, where

[1] It is still there.

we arrived on the 16th, at the time when the New Citidall was advancing with innumerable hands, and incomparable inventions for draining off the waters out of the fenns and moraces above it, being by bucketts, mills, cockleas, pumps, and the like. Here were now 16 companies and 9 troopes of horse. They were cutting a new river to passe from the Towne to a Castle not far from it. Here we split our skiff, falling fowle upon another through negligence of the master, who was faine to run on ground, to our no little hazard. At our arrivall, a Soldier convey'd us to the Governor, where our names were taken, and o^r^ persons examin'd very strictly.

17th. I was permitted to walk the round and view the workes, and to visite a Convent of religious women of the order of St. Clara, who by the capitulation were permitted to enjoy their monastery and maintenance undisturbed at the surrender of the towne 12 years since, where we had a collation, and very civil entertaynment. They had a neate Chapell, in which the heart of the Duke of Cleve, their founder, lies inhum'd under a plate of brasse. Within the Cloyster is a garden, and in the middle of it an overgrowne lime-tree, out of whose stem, neere the roote, issue 5 upright and exceeding tall suckers or boles, the like whereof for evenesse and heighth I had not observ'd.

The cheife Church of this citty is curiously carved within and without; furnished with a paire of organs, and a most magnificent font, all of copper.

18th. I went to that most impregnable towne and fort of Hysdune, where I was exceedingly obliged to one Coll: Crombe the Lieutenant Governor, who would needes make me accept the honour of being Capt: of the Watch, & to give the word this night. We departed towards Goreum. Here S^r^ Kenelme Digby travelling towards Collin met us.

19th. We arived at Dort, passing by the Decoys, where they catch innumerable quantities of fowle.

22nd. I went again to Roterdam to receive a passe which I expected from the Cardinal Infanta, then Governor for his brother the K. of Spaine, in Flanders, being desirous to see that country in my returne for England, whither I was now shaping my course; and within 2 days after, having obtain'd another from the Prince of Orange, upon the 24th Sep^{r} I departed through Dort, but met with very bad tempestuous weather, being several times driven back, and oblig'd to lie at anker off Keele, other vessells lying there waiting better weather. The 25th and 26th we made other essays, but were againe repulsed to the harbor, where lay 60 vessels waiting to sail. But on the 27th we, impatient of the tyme and inhospitablenesse of the place, sailed again with a contrary and impetuous wind, and a terrible sea, in greate jeopardy, for we had much ado to keepe ourselves above water, the billows breaking desperately on our vessel; we were driven into Williamstadt, a place garrison'd by the English, where the Governor had a faire house. The workes and especialy the countercamp are curiously hedg'd with quick, and planted with a stately row of limes on the rampart. The church is of a round structure with a cupola.

28th. Failing of an appointement, I was constrained to returne to Dort for a bill of exchange, but it was the 1st of Oct^{r} ere I could get back; at Keele I numbered 141 vessells who durst not yet venture out; but animated by the master of a stout bark, after a small encounter of weather, we ariv'd by foure that evening at Stene-bergen. In the passage we sailed over a sea called the Plaet, an exceeding dangerous water, by reason of two contrary tydes which meete there very impetuously. Here, because of the many shelfes, we were forc'd to tyde it along

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the Channell; but, ere we could gaine the place, the ebb was so far spent, that we were compell'd to foote it at least a league through a most pelting shower of raine.

Oct. 2nd. I went in a cart (for it was no better, and no other accomodation could be procured) of 2 wheeles and one horse to Bergen-op-Zome, meeting divers partys of his Highnesses army retiring towards their winter quarters. The Fort was heretofore built by the English.

The next morning I embarked for Lillo, having refused a convoy of horse which was offered me. The tyde being against us, we landed short of the Fort, on the beach, where we marched half leg deep in mud ere we could gaine the dyke, w^ch^ being 5 or 6 miles from Lillo, we were forced to walke on foote very wett and discompos'd, and then entering a boat we passed the Ferry, and came to the Castle. Being taken before the Governor, he demanded my passe, to which he set his hand, and asked 2 rix-dollars for a fee, w^ch^ methought appeared very unhandsome in a Soldier of his quality. I told him that I had already purchased my passe of the Commissaries at Roterdam; at which, in a greate fury snatching the paper out of my hand, he flung it scornfully under a table, and bad me try whether I could get to Antwerp without his permission; but when I drew out the mony, he return'd it as scurvily again, bidding me pay 14 Dutch shill. to the Cantone, or Searcher, for my contempt, which I was also glad to do with a greate deale of caution and danger, concealing my Spanish passe, it being a matter of imprisonment, for that the States were therein treated by the names of Rebells. Besides all these exactions I gave the Com'issary 6 shill., to the soldiers something, and ere perfectly cleare of this frontiere 31 stivers to the man of war who lay blocking up the

river 'twixt Lillo and the opposite sconce called Lifkinshoeck.

Oct. 4th. We sailed by several Spanish Forts, out of one of which came some Dons, to whom I shewed my Spanish passe, which was signed by one, and I gave him 6 guilders. We pass'd by another man of war, to which we lower'd our topsails; and at length ariv'd at Antwerp.

The lodgings here are very handsome and convenient. I lost little tyme, but with the conduct of one Mr. Lewkner visited divers Churches, Colledges, Monasteries, &c. The Church of the Jesuits is most sumptuous and magnificent; a glorious fabriq without, and within wholly incrusted with marble, inlay'd and polish'd into divers representations of histories, landskips, and flowers. On the high altar is placed the Statue of the B. Virgin and our Saviour in white marble, which has a bosse in the girdle consisting of a very faire and rich sapphire, with divers other stones of price. The quire is a glorious piece; the pulpet is supported by foure angels, and adorn'd with other carvings. There are rare pictures by Rubens, now lately deceased, and divers votive tables and reliques. I went into the Vroû Kirke or Notre Dame d'Anvers, which is the Cathedrall of this citty: it is a very venerable fabriq, built after the Gotick manner; the Tower is of an excessive height. This I ascended that I might the better take a view of the country about it, which happening on a day when the sun shonn exceedingly hot, and darted the rayes without any interruption, afforded so bright a reflection to us who were above, and had a full prospect of both land and water about it, that I was much confirmed in my opinion of the moon's being of some such substance as this earthly globe consists of; perceiving all the subjacent country, at so small an horizontal distance, to repercuss

such a light as I could hardly look against, save where the river, and other large water within our view, appeared of a more dark and uniforme colour, resembling those spotts in the moone supposed to be seas there, according to our new philosophy, and viewed by optical glasses. I numbered in this Church 30 priviledged Altars, whereof that of St. Sebastian's was rarely paynted.

We went to see Jerusalem Church, affirmed to have been founded by one who, upon divers greate wagers, went to and fro betweene y^t^ Citty and Antwerp on foote, by which he procur'd greate sums of mony, which he bestow'd in this pious structure. Hence to St. Mary's Chapell, where I had some conference with two English Jesuites, Confessors to Coll. Gage his regiment. These Fathers conducted us to y^e^ Cloyster of religious women, where we heard a Dutch sermon at a Quarantia, or exposure of the Sacrament as they tearme it. The Senat-house of this Citty is a very spacious and magnificent building.

Oct. 5th. I vissited the Jesuites schole, w^ch^ for the fame of their method & institution I had greately desir'd to see. They were divided into 4 classes with a several inscription over each; as, 1. *Ad majorem Dei gloriam;* over the 2d, *Princeps diligentiæ;* the 3d, *Imperator Byzantiorum;* over the 4th and upmost, *Imperator Romanorum.* Under these the scholars and pupils had their places or formes, with titles and priority according to their proficiency. Their dormitory and lodgings above were exceeding neate. They have prisons for the offenders and lesse diligent; a court to recreate themselves in, wherein is an aviary of birds, eagles, foxes, monkeys, &c. to divert the boys withall at their times of remission. To the house joyn the music and mathematical scholes, and lastly a pretty chapell. The greate streete is built after a more Italian mode, in the

middle whereoff is erected a glorious Crucifix of white and black marble, greater then the life. This is a very faire and noble streete, cleane and sweete to admiration.

The Oesters house, belonging to the East India Company, is a most beautifull palace, adorn'd with more than 300 windows. From hence walking into the Gun-garden, I was suffered to see as much of the Citadell as is easily permitted to strangers. It is a matchless piece of modern fortification, accom'odated with logiaments for the souldiers and magazines. The graffs, ramparts, and platforms, are stupendious. Returning by the shop of Plantine, I bought some bookes for the namesake onely of that famous printer.

But there was nothing about this Citty which more ravished me than those delicious shades and walkes of stately trees, which render the fortified workes of the towne one of the sweetest places in Europ; nor did I ever observe a more quiet, cleane, elegantly built, and civil place, then this magnificent and famous Citty of Antwerp. In the evening I was invited to Sig^{r} Duerte, a Portuguese by nation, an exceeding rich merchant, whose palace I found to be furnish'd like a prince's; his three daughters entertain'd us with rare musiq, vocal & instrumental, w^{ch} was finish'd with a handsome collation. I tooke leave of the ladys, and of sweete Antwerp, as late as it was, embarquing for Bruxelles on the Scheld, in a vessel which delivered us to a second boate (in another river) drawn or tow'd by horses. In this passage we frequently chang'd our barge, by reason of the bridges thwarting our course. Here I observed numerous families inhabiting their vessels, and floating dwellings. so built and divided by cabins, as few houses on land enjoy'd better accom'odation, stor'd with all sorts of utensills, neate chambers, a pretty parlour, and kept so sweete that nothing could be

more refreshing. The rivers on which they are drawne are very cleare & still waters, and passe through a most pleasant country on both the bankes. We had in our boate a very good ordnary, and excellent company. The cutt is straight as a line for 20 English miles. What I much admir'd was, neere the midway, another artificial river, which intersects this at right angles, but on an eminence of ground, and is carried in an aqueduct of stone so far above the other as that the waters neither mingle nor hinder one another's passage.[1]

We came to a towne called Villefrow, where all the passengers went on shore to wash at a fountaine issuing out of a pillar, and then came aboard againe. On the margent of this long tract are abundance of shrines and images, defended from the injuries of the weather by niches of stone wherein they are placed.

7th. We arriv'd at Bruxelles at 9 in the morning. The State house, neere the market-place, is for the carving in freestone a most laborious and finished piece, well worthy observation. The flesh-shambles are also built of stone. I was pleased with certain small engines by which a girl or boy was able to draw up, or let downe, greate bridges, w^ch^ in divers parts of this Citty crossed y^e^ channell, for the benefit of passengers. The walls of this Town are very intyre, and full of towers at competent distances. The Cathedrall is built upon a very high and exceeding steepe ascent, to which we mounted by faire stepps of stone. Hence I walked to a Convent of English Nunns, with whom I sate discoursing most part of the afternoone.

8th. Being the morning I came away, I went to see the Prince's Court, an ancient, confus'd building, not much unlike the Hofft at the Hague; there is

[1] As at the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal in Lancashire.

here likewise a very large Hall, where they vend all sorts of wares. Through this we passed by the Chapell, which is indeed rarely arch'd, and in the middle of it was the hearse or catafalco of the late Arch-Dutchesse, the wise and pious Clara Eugenia. Out of this we were conducted to the lodgings, tapistry'd with incomparable arras, and adorn'd with many excellent pieces of Rubens, old and young Breughel, Titian, and Stenwick, with stories of most of the late actions in the Netherlands.

By an accident we could not see the Library. There is a faire terrace which looks to the Vineyard, in which, on pedestalls, are fix'd the statues of all the Spanish Kings of the House of Austria. The opposite walls are paynted by Rubens, being an history of the late tumults in Belgia; in the last piece the Arch-Dutchesse shutts a greate payre of gates upon Mars, who is coming out of hell, arm'd, and in a menacing posture: which with that other of the Infanta taking leave of Don Philip the Fourth, is a most incomparable table.

From hence we walk'd into the Parke, which for being intirely within the walls of the Citty is particularly remarkable; nor is it less pleasant than if in the most solitary recesses, so naturally is it furnish'd with whatever may render it agreeable, melancholy, and country-like. Here is a stately heronry, divers springs of water, artificial cascades, rocks, grotts; one whereof is composed of the extravagant rootes of trees cunningly built and hung together with wires. In this Parke are both fallow and red deere.

From hence we were led into the Manege, and out of that into a most sweete and delicious garden, where was another grott, of more neate and costly materials, full of noble statues, and entertaining us with artificial musiq; but the hedge of water, in forme of lattice-worke, which the fontanier caused

to ascend out of the earth by degrees, exceedingly pleased and surpris'd me, for thus with a pervious wall, or rather a palisad hedge, of water, was the whole parterre environ'd.

There is likewise a faire Aviary, and in the court next it are kept divers sorts of animals, rare and exotic fowle, as eagles, cranes, storkes, bustards, pheasants of several kinds, and a duck having 4 wings. In another division of the same close, are rabbits of an almost perfect yellow colour.

There was no Court now in the Palace, the Infante Cardinal, who was the Governor of Flanders, being dead but newly, and every one in deepe mourning.

At near 11 o'clock, I repaired to his Majesty's Agent Sir Henry De Vic, who very courteously receiv'd me and accom'odated me with a coach & six horses, which carried me from Bruxelles to Gant, where it was to meete my Lord of Arundel, Earle Marshal of England, who had requested me when I was at Antwerp to send it for him, if I went not thither myselfe.

Thus taking leave of Bruxelles and a sad Court, yet full of gallant persons (for in this small Cittye the acquaintence being universal, Ladys and Gentlemen, I perceiv'd, had greate diversions and frequent meetings), I hasted towards Gant. On the way I met with divers little wagons prettily contrived and full of pedling merchandises, drawne by mastive-dogs, harnessed compleately like so many coach-horses, in some 4, in others 6, as in Bruxelles itselfe I had observed. In Antwerp I saw, as I remember, 4 dogs draw 5 lusty children in a charriot: the master com'ands them whither he pleases, crying his wares about the streetes. After passing through Ouse, by 6 in the evening I arriv'd at Ghent. This is a Citty of so great a circumference that it is reported to be 7

leagues round, but there is not half of it now built, much of it remaining in fields and desolate pastures, even within the walls, which has strong gates towards the west, and two faire churches.

Here I beheld the Palace wherein John of Gaunt and Charles V. were borne; whose statue stands in the Market-place upon an high pillar, with his sword drawn, to which (as I was told) the Magistrates and Burghers were wont to repaire upon a certaine day every yeare wth roaps about their necks, in toaken of submission and pennance for an old Rebellion of theirs; but now the hemp is changed into a blew ribbon. Here is planted the Basilisco, or great Gun, so much talked of. The Ley and the Scheldt meeting in this vast City divide it into 26 Islands, which are united by many bridges, somewhat resembling Venice. This night I supp'd with the Abbot of Andoyne, a pleasant and courteous priest.

Oct. 8th. I passed by boate to Bruges, taking in at a redout a convoy of 14 musqueteers, because the other side of the river being Contribution land, was subject to the inroades and depredations of the bordering States. This river was cut by the famous Marquiss Spinola, and is in my judgment a wonderfull piece of labour, and is a worthy publiq worke, being in some places forced thro' the maine rock, to an incredible depth, for 30 miles. At the end of each mile is built a small redout, which com'unicates a line to y^{e} next, and so the whole way, from whence we received many vollies of shot in compliment to my L^{d} Marshall, who was in o^{r} vessel, a passenger with us. At 5 that evening we were met by the Magistrates of Bruges, who came out to convey my Lord to his lodgings, at whose cost he was entertaynd that night.

The morning after, we went to see the State-house and adjoyning Aquæduct, the Church, and Market-

place, where we saw cheeses and butter piled up in heapes; also the Fortifications and Grafts, which are extreamly large.

The 9th we arrived at Ostend by a straite and artificial river. Here, w^th^ leave of the Captaine of the Watch, I was carried to survey the river and harbour, with fortifications on one side thereof: the east and south are mud & earth walls. It is a very strong place, and lately stood a memorable siege 3 yeares, 3 moneths, 3 weeks, & 3 dayes. I went to see the Church of St. Peter, and the Cloysters of the Franciscans.

Oct. 10th. I went by wagon, accompany'd w^th^ a jovial Com'issary, to Dynkirk, the journey being made all on y^e^ sea-sands. On o^r^ arrival we first viewed the Court of Guards, the Workes, the Towne-house, and the New Church; the latter is very beautiful within; and another, wherein they shew'd us an excellent piece of Our Saviour's bearing the Crosse. The Harbour in two channels coming up to the Towne was choaked w^th^ a multitude of prizes.

From hence, the next day, I marched three English miles towards the packet-boate, being a pretty fregat of 6 guns, which embarked us for England about 3 in the afternoone.

At our going off, the Fort against which our pinnace ankered saluted my Lord Marshall with 12 greate guns, which we answered with 3. Not having the wind favourable, we ankered that night before Calais. About midnight we weighed; and at 4 in the morning, tho' not far from Dover, we could not make the peere till 4 in the afternoon, the wind proving contrary and driving us westward; but at last we got on shore, Oct^r^ the 12th.

From Dover I that night rod post to Canterbery. Here I visited the Cathedrall, then in great splen-

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dour, those famous windows being intire, since demolish'd by the Phanatiqs. The next morning by Sittinbourn I came to Rochester, and thence to Graves-end, where a Light-horse-man (as they call it) taking us in, we spent our tide as far as Greenewich. From hence, after we had a little refresh'd ourselves at the Colledge (for by reason of y^e^ contagion then in London we baulked the Inns), we came to London, landing at Arundel-stayres: here I took leave of his Lordship, and retyred to my lodgings in the Middle Temple, being about 2 in the morning, the 14th of October.

Oct. 16th. I went to see my brother at Wotton. On the 31st of that moneth (unfortunate for the Irish Rebellion, which broke out on the 23d) I was one and twenty yeares of age.

Nov. 7th. After receiving the Sacrament at Wotton Church, I visited my Lord Marshal at Albury.

23rd. Returned to London; and on the 25th saw his Majesty ride thro' the Citty after his coming out of Scotland, and a Peace proclaym'd, w^th^ greate acclamations and joy of the giddy people.

Dec. 15th. I was elected one of the Comptrolers of the Middle Temple-revellers, as the fashion of y^e^ young Students and Gentlemen was, the Christmas being kept this yeare with greate solemnity; but being desirous to passe it in the Country, I got leave to resigne my staffe of office, and went with my brother Richard to Wotton.

Jan. 10th, 1642. I gave a visite to my cousin Hatton of Ditton.

19th. I went to London, where I stayed till 5th March, studying a little, but dauncing and fooling more.

Oct. 3rd. To Chichester, and hence the next day to see the Seige of Portsmouth; for now was that bloody difference betweene the King and Parliament

Sr ROBERT CECIL *EARL of SALISBURY*

From a Drawing in the Collection of E Malone Esqr

broken out, which ended in the fatal tragedy so many yeares after. It was on the day of its being render'd to Sir W^m^ Waller, which gave me an opportunity of taking my leave of Coll. Goring the Governor, now embarqueing for France. This day was fought that signal Battaile at Edgehill. Thence I went to Southampton and Winchester, where I visited the Castle, Schole, Church, and King Arthur's Round Table, but especialy the Church, and its Saxon Kings Monuments, which I esteemed a worthy antiquity.

12th Nov^r^ was the Battle of Braineford surprisingly fought, and to the greate consternation of the Citty had his Majesty (as twas believed he would) pursu'd his advantage. I came in w^th^ my horse and armes just at the retreate, but was not permitted to stay longer than the 15th by reason of the Army's marching to Glocester, which would have left both me and my brothers expos'd to ruine, without any advantage to his Majestie.

Dec. 7th. I went from Wotton to London to see the so much celebrated line of com'unication, and on the 10th returned to Wotton, no body knowing of my having been in his Ma^ties^ Army.

1643. 10th March. I went to Hartingford-berry, to visite my cousin Keightly.

11th. I went to see my Lord of Salisbury's Palace at Hatfield, where the most considerable rarity besides the house (inferior to few then in England for its architecture) was the garden and vineyard rarely well watered and planted. They also shew'd us the picture of Secretary Cecil in mosaiq worke, very well don by some Italian hand.

I must not forget what amazed us exceedingly the night before, viz. a shining clowd in the ayre, in shape resembling a sword, the point reaching to the North : it was as bright as the moone, the rest of the

sky being very serene. It began about 11 at night, and vanish'd not till above one, being seen by all the South of England.

I made many journies to and from London.

April 15th. To Hatfield, and neere the town of Hertford I went to see Sir J. Harris [Harrison] his house new built.[1] Returning to London, I called to see his Majesty's house and gardens at Theobalds, since demolish'd by the rebells.

May 2nd. I went from Wotton to London, where I saw the furious and zelous people demolish that stately Crosse in Cheapside. On the 4th I return'd, with no little regrett for the confusion that threaten'd us. Resolving to possess myselfe in some quiet if it might be, in a time of so great jealosy, I built by my Brother's permission a study, made a fishpond, an island, and some other solitudes and retirements, at Wotton, which gave the first occasion of improving them to those water-works and gardens which afterwards succeeded them, and became at that tyme the most famous of England.

July 12th. I sent my black manege horse and furniture with a friend to his Ma^tie^ then at Oxford.

23rd. The Covenant being pressed, I absented myselfe; but finding it impossible to evade the doing very unhandsome things, and which had been a greate cause of my perpetual motions hitherto between Wotton & London, Oct. 2nd, I obtayned a lycence of his Ma^tie^, dated at Oxford and sign'd by the King, to travell againe.

Nov. 6th. Lying by the way from Wotton at Sir Ralph Whitfield's, at Blechinglee, (whither both my Brothers had conducted me,) I arriv'd at London on

[1] Now called Balls Park, belonging to Lord John Townshend, who inherits it from his grandmother, Lady Viscountess Townshend, who was a Miss Harrison, and wife to Charles Viscount Townshend, Secretary of State to George the Second.

the 7th, and two dayes after tooke boate at the Tower-wharfe, which carry'd me as far as Sittinburne, though not without danger, I being onely in a payre of oares, expos'd to an hideous storme; but it pleas'd God that we got in before the perill was considerable. From thence I went by post to Dover, accompany'd with one Mr. Thicknesse, a very deare friend of mine.[1]

11th. Having a reasonable good passage, though the weather was snowy and untoward enough, we came before Calais, where, as we went on shore, mistaking the tyde, our shallop struck on y^e^ sands, with no little danger, but at length we got off.

Calais is an extraordinary well fortified place, in the old Castle and new Citadell, reguarding the Sea. The haven consists of a long banke of sand, lying opposite to it. The Market-place and the Church are remarkable things, besides those reliques of our former dominion there. I remember there was engraven in stone upon the front of an antient dwelling w^ch^ was shew'd us, these words in English, "God save the King," together with the name of y^e^ architect and date. The walls of the towne are substantial, but the situation towards the land is not pleasant, by reason of the marishes and low grounds about it.

Nov. 12th. After diner we toke horse with the Messagere, hoping to have ariv'd at Bollogne that night; but there fell so greate a snow, accompanied w^th^ hayle, rain, and suddaine darknesse, that we had much adoe to gain the next village; and in this passage being to crosse a vally by a causeway and a bridge built over a small river, the raine that had fallen making it an impetuous streame for neere a quarter of a mile, my horse slipping had almost been the occasion of my perishing. We none of us went

[1] The gentleman he has already mentioned as so much assisting his studies at Oxford.

to bed, for the souldiers in those parts leaving little in the villages, we had enough to do to get ourselves dry by morning, between the fire and the fresh straw. The next day early we ariv'd at Bollogne.

This is a double towne, one part of it situate on a high Rock, or downes; the other, call'd y^e^ Lower Towne, is yet w^th^ a greate declivity towards the Sea, both of them defended by a strong Castle which stands on a notable eminence. Under the towne runs the river, which is yet but an inconsiderable brooke. Hen. 8th. in the siege of this place is said to have used those greate leatherne gunns which I have since seen in the Tower of London, inscribed *Non Marte opus est, cui non deficit Mercurius*, if at least the history be true, w^ch^ my Lord Herbert doubts.[1]

The next morning, in some danger of party's [Spanish] surprising us, we came to Monstreuil, built on the sum'it of a most conspicuous hill, environ'd with faire and ample meadows, but all the suburbs had been from time to time ruin'd, and were now lately burnt by the Spanish inroads. This towne is fortified with two very deep dry ditches; the walls about the bastions and citadell are a noble piece of masonary.

The Church is more glorious without then within: the Market-place large, but the inhabitants are miserably poore. The next day we came to Abbeville, having pass'd all this way in continual expectation of the volunteeres as they call them. This Towne affords a good aspect towards the hill from whence we descended, nor does it deceive us, for it is handsomely built, and has many pleasant and useful streames passing through it, the maine river being the Somme, which discharges itselfe into the

[1] In his History of that King.

Sea at St. Valery, almost in view of the towne. The principal Church is a very handsome piece of Gotiq architecture, and the ports and ramparts sweetely planted for defence and ornament. In the morning they brought us choice of guns and pistolls to sell at reasonable rates, and neately made, being here a merchandize of greate account, the towne abounding in gun-smiths.

Hence we advanced to Beauvais, another town of good noate, and having the first vineyards we had seen. The next day to Beaumont, and the morrow to Paris, having taken our repast at St. Denys, 2 leagues from that greate Citty. St. Denys is considerable only for its stately Cathedral, and the dormitory of the French Kings, there inhum'd as ours at Westminster Abbey. The treasury is esteem'd one of the richest in Europ. The Church was built by King Dagobert, but since much enlarged, being now 390 foote long, 100 in bredth, and 80 in height, without comprehending the cover; it has also a very high shaft of stone, and the gates are of brasse. Here, whiles the Monkes conducted us, we were shewed the antient and moderne sepulchres of their Kings, beginning with the Founder to Lewis his son, with Charles Martel, Pepin son and father of Charlemagne: these lye in the Quire, and without it are many more; amongst the rest that of Bertrand du Guesclin, Constable of France; in the Chapell of Charles V. all his posterity, and neere him the magnificent sepulchre of Francis I. with his children, warres, victories, and triumphs, engraven in marble. In y^e^ nave of y^e^ Church lyes the Catapale or Hearse of Lewis XIII. Henry 2nd. a noble tomb of Francis 2. and Charles IX. Above are bodies of several Saints; below, under a state of black velvet, the late Lewis xiij. father of this present monarch. Every one of the 10 chapels, or oratories, had some Saints

in them; amongst the rest, one of the Holy Innocents. The treasury is kept in the sacristy above, in which are crosses of massy gold and silver, studded with precious stones, one of gold 3 feet high, set with saphires, rubies, and greate Oriental pearles. Another given by Charles the Greate, having a noble Amethyst in y^e^ middle of it, stones and pearles of inestimable value. Amongst the still more valuable reliques are a naile from our Saviour's Cross, in a box of gold full of precious stones; a crucifix of the true wood of the Crosse, carved by Pope Clement III. inchas'd in a crystal covered with gold; a box in which is some of the Virgin's haire; some of the linnen in which our blessed Saviour was wrapped at his nativity; in a huge reliquary modelled like a church, some of our Saviour's blood, haire, cloathes, linnen with which he wiped the Apostle's feet; with many other equally authentic toyes, which the Frier who conducted us would have us believe were authentiq reliques. Amongst the treasures is the Crowne of Charlemagne, his 7 foote high scepter and hand of justice, the agraffe of his royall mantle beset with diamonds and rubies, his sword, belt, and spurrs of gold; the Crowne of St. Lewis, cover'd with precious stones, amongst which is one vast ruby, uncut, of inestimable value, weighing 300 carrats, (under which is set one of the thornes of our blessed Saviour's crowne,) his sword, seale, and hand of justice. The two crownes of Hen. IV. his sceptre, hand of justice, and spurrs. The two crowns of his sonn Lewes. In the cloake-royall of Anne of Bretagne is a very greate and rare rubie. Divers bookes cover'd with solid plates of gold and studded with precious stones. Two vasas of berill, two of achate, whereof one is esteemed for its bignesse, colour, and carving imboss'd, the best now to be seene; by a special favour I was permitted to take

the measure & dimensions of it; the story is a Bachanalia and sacrifice to Priapus, a very holy thing truly, and fit for a cloyster! It is really antique, and the noblest jewell there. There is also a large gundola of chrysolite, an huge urne of porphyry, another of calcedone, a vasa of onyx, the largest I had ever seene of that stone; two of chrystal; a morsel of one of the water-pots in which our Saviour did his first miracle; the effigies of the Queene of Saba, of Julius, Augustus, Marc Antony, Cleopatra, and others, upon saphyrs, topazes, agates, and cornelians; that of the Queen of Saba has a Morish face; those of Julius and Nero on achates rarely colour'd and cut. A cup in which Solomon was us'd to drinke, and an Apollo on a great amethyst. There lay in a window a miroir of a kind of stone said to have belonged to the poet Virgil. Charlemagne's chessemen, full of Arabiq characters. In the presse next the doore, the brasse lantern full of crystals, said to have conducted Judas and his company to apprehend our Bl: Saviour. A faire unicorne's horne, sent by a K. of Persia, about 7 foote long. In another presse (over which stands the picture in oyle of their Orleans Amazon with her sword), the effigies of the late French Kings in wax, like ours in Westminster, covered with their robes, with a world of other rarities. Having rewarded our courteous fryer, we tooke horse for Paris, where we ariv'd about five in the afternoone. In the way were faire crosses of stone carv'd with fleurs de lys at every furlong's end, where they affirme St. Denys rested and layd down his head after martyrdom, carrying it from the place where this monastery is builded. We lay at Paris at the Ville de Venice; where after I had something refreshed I went to visite Sir Rich[d] Browne, his Ma[tics] Resident with the French King.

Dec. 5th. The Earle of Norwich[1] came as Ambassador Extraordinary; I went to meet him in a coach and six horses, at the palace of Mons[r] de Bassompiere, where I saw that gallant person, his gardens, terraces, and rare prospects. My lord was waited on by the master of the ceremonies, and a very greate cavalcade of men of quality, to the Palais Cardinal, where on the 23d he had audience of the French King and the Queene Regent his mother, in the golden chamber of presence. From thence I conducted him to his lodgings in Rue St. Denys, and so tooke my leave.

24th. I went with some company to see some remarkable places without the Citty: as the Isle, and how 'tis encompassed by the rivers Seine and the Oyse. The City is divided into three parts, whereof the Towne is greatest. The City lies between it and the University, in form of an island. Over the Seine is a stately bridge called Pont Neuf, begun by Hen. 3. in 1578, finished by Hen. 4. his successor. It is all of hewn free stone found under the streets, but more plentifully at Mont-Martyre, and consists of 12 arches, in the midst of which ends the poynt of an island, on which are built handsome artificers houses. There is one large passage for coaches, and two for foote passengers 3 or 4 feet higher, and of convenient breadth for 8 or 10 to goe abreast. On the middle of this stately bridge on one side stands the famous statue of Henry the Greate on horseback, exceeding the natural proportion by much; and on the 4 faces of a stately pedestal, (which is compos'd of various sorts of polish'd marbles and rich mouldings,) inscriptions of his victories and most signal actions are engraven in brasse. The statue and horse are of copper, the worke of the greate John di Bologna, and sent from Florence by Ferdinand

[1] So created, having been George Lord Goring.

the First, and Cosimo the Second, unkle & cousin to Mary di Medices, the wife of K. Henry, whose statue it represents. The place where it is erected is inclos'd with a strong and beautifull grate of yron, about which there are allways mountebancs shewing their feates to idle passengers. From henee is a rare prospect towards the Louver and suburbs of St. Germaines, the Isle du Palais, and Notre Dame. At the foote of this bridge is a water-house, on the front whereof, at a great height, is the story of our Saviour and the Woman of Samaria powring water out of a bucket. Above is a very rare dyal of severall motions, with a chime, &c. The water is convey'd by huge wheeles, pumps, and other engines, from the river beneath. The confluence of the people and multitude of coaches passing every moment over the bridge, to a new spectator is an agreeable diversion. Other bridges there are, as that of Notre Dame, and the Pont au Change, &c. fairly built, with houses of stone, which are laid over this river: only the Pont St. Anne, landing the suburbs of St. Germaine at the Thuilleries, is built of wood, having likewise a water-house in the midst of it, and a statue of Neptune easting water out of a whale's mouth, of lead, but much inferior to the Samaritane.

The University lies south west on higher ground, contiguous to, but the lesser part of Paris. They reckon no less than 65 Colleges, but they in nothing approch ours at Oxford for state and order. The booksellers dwell within the University. The Scholes (of which more hereafter) are very regular.

The suburbs are those of St. Denys, Honoré, St. Marcel, Jaques, St. Michel, St. Victoire, and St. Germaines, which last is the largest, and where the nobility and persons of best quality are seated; and truely Paris, comprehending the suburbs, is, for the material the houses are built with, and many noble

and magnificent piles, one of the most gallant cittyes in the world; large in circuit, of a round forme, very populous, but situated in a botome, environ'd w^th^ gentle declivities, rendering some places very dirty, and making it smell as if sulphure were mingled with the mudd; yet it is pav'd with a kind of free-stone, of neere a foote square, which renders it more easy to walke on than our pibbles in London.

On Christmas eve I went to see the cathedrall of Notre Dame, erected by Philip August, but begun by K. Robert, son of Hugh Capet. It consists of a Gotiq fabriq, sustayn'd with 120 pillars, which make two ailes in the church round about the quire, without comprehending the chapells, being 174 paces long, 60 wide, and 100 high. The quire is enclos'd with stone worke graven with the sacred history, and containes 45 chapells cancell'd with yron. At the front of the chiefe entrance are statues in relievo of the Kings, 28 in number, from Childebert to the founder, Philip; and above them are two high square towers, and another of a smaller size, bearing a spire in the middle, where the body of the church formes a crosse. The greate tower is ascended by 389 steps, having 12 gallerys from one to y^e^ other. They greately reverence the crucifix over the skreene of y^e^ quire, w^th^ an image of the B. Virgin. There are some good moderne paintings hanging on the pillars: the most conspicuous statue is the huge colosse of St. Christopher, w^th^ divers other figures of men, houses, prospects, & rocks, about this gygantiq piece, being of one stone, and more remarkable for its bulke than any other perfection. This is the prime Church of France for dignity, having Archdeacons, Vicars, Canons, Priests, and Chaplaines in good stores, to y^e^ number of 127. It is also the Palace of the Archbishop. The young King was there with a greate and martial guard, who enter'd the

nave of the church with drumes and fifes, at the ceasing of which I was entertain'd with the church musiq, and so I left him.

1644. Jan. 4th. I pass'd this day with one Mr. Jo. Wall, an Irish gentleman, who had been a Frier in Spaine, and afterwards a Reader in St. Isodor's Chayre at Rome; but was, I know not how, getting away, and pretending to be a souldier of fortune, an absolute Cavaliere, having as he told us been a Capt. of Horse in Germany. It is certaine he was an excellent disputant, and so strangely given to it that nothing could passe him. He would needes perswade me to goe with him this morning to the Jesuites Colledge, to witnesse his polemical talent. We found the Fathers in their church at the Rue St. Anthoine, where one of them shew'd us that noble fabriq, which for its cupola, pavings, incrustations of marble, the pulpit, altars (especially the high altar), organ, *lavatorium*, &c. but, above all, the richly carv'd and incomparable front, I esteeme to be one of the most perfect pieces of architecture in Europ, emulating even some of the greatest now at Rome itselfe; but this not being what our Frier sought, he led us into the adjoyning convent, where having shew'd us the library, they began a very hot dispute on some poynts of Divinity, which o^r^ Cavalier contested onely to show his pride, and to that indiscreete height that the Jesuites would hardly bring us to our coach, they being put beside all patience. The next day we went into the University, and into the College of Navarre, which is a spacious well-built quadrangle, having a very noble library.

Thence to the Sorbonne, an antient fabriq built by one Robert de Sorbonne, whose name it retains, but the restauration which the late Cardinal de Richlieu has made to it renders it one of the most excellent moderne buildings; the sumptuous church, of

admirable architecture, is far superior to the rest. The cupola, portico, and whole designe of the church is very magnificent.

We entered into some of the scholes, and in that of Divinity we found a grave Doctor in his chaire, with a multitude of auditors, who all write as he dictates; and this they call a course. After we had sate a little, o^r^ Cavalier started up, and rudely enough began to dispute w^th^ the Doctor; at which, and especially as he was clad in y^e^ Spanish habit, which in Paris is the greatest bugbare imaginable, the Scholars & Doctor fell into such a fit of laughter that nobody could be heard speake for a while; but silence being obtain'd, he began to speake Latine, and make his apology in so good a style, that their derision was turn'd to admiration, & beginning to argue, he so baffled the Professor, that with universal applause they all rose up and did him greate honors, waiting on us to the very streete and our coach, and testifying greate satisfaction.

Feb. 2nd. I heard the newes of my nephew George's birth, which was on Jan^y^ 15, English style, 1645.

Feb. 3rd. I went to the Exchange. The late addition to the buildings is very noble, but the gallerys where they sell their petty merchandize are nothing so stately as ours at London, no more than the place where they walke below, being onely a low vault.

The Palais, as they call the upper part, was built in y^e^ time of Philip the Faire, noble and spacious. The greate Hall annex'd to it is arched with stone, having a range of pillars in the middle, round which and at the sides are shops of all kinds, especialy Booksellers. One side is full of pewes for the Clearkes of the Advocates, who swarme here (as ours at Westminster). At one of y^e^ ends stands an

altar, at which masse is said daily. Within are several chambers, courts, treasuries, &c. Above that is the most rich and glorious Salle d'Audience, the Chamber of St. Lewis, and other superior Courts where the Parliament sits, richly guilt on embossed carvings & fretts, and exceeding beautified.

Within the place where they sell their wares is another narrower gallery full of shopps and toys, &c. which lookes downe into y^e^ prison yard. Descending by a large payre of stayres, we passed by St. Chapelle, which is a church built by St. Lewis, 1242, after the Gotiq manner; it stands on another church, w^ch^ is under it, sustain'd by pillars at y^e^ sides, w^ch^ seeme so weak as to appear extraordinary in y^e^ artist. This chapell is most famous for its relicques, having, as they pretend, almost the intyre Crowne of Thornes; the achat Patine, rarely sculptur'd, judg'd one of the largest & best in Europ. There was now a very beautifull Spire erecting. The court below is very spacious, capable of holding many coaches, and surrounded with shopps, especially engravers, goldsmiths, and watchmakers. In it is a fayre fountaine & portico. The Isle du Palais consists of a triangular brick building, whereof one side, looking to the river, is inhabited by goldsmiths. Within the court are private dwellings. The front looking on the greate bridge is possess'd by mountebanks, operators, and puppet-players. On the other part is the every day's market for all sorts of provisions, especially bread, hearbs, flowers, orange-trees, choyce shrubbs; here is a shop called Noah's Arke, where are sold all curiosities naturall or artificial, Indian or European, for luxury or use, as cabinets, shells, ivory, porselan, dried fishes, insects, birds, pictures, and a thousand exotic extravagances. Passing hence we viewed the Port Dauphine, an arch of excellent workmanship; the street, bearing the same name, is ample and straite.

Feb. 4th. I went to see the Marais de Temple, where is a noble church and palace, heretofore dedicated to the Knights Templars, now converted to a piazza, not much unlike ours at Covent Garden, but larger and not so pleasant, tho' built all about with divers considerable palaces.

The church of St. Genevieve is a place of greate devotion, dedicated to another of their amazons say'd to have deliver'd the citty from y^e^ English, for which she is esteem'd the tutelary Saint of Paris. It stands on a steepe eminence, having a very high spire, and is govern'd by Canons Regular.

At the Palais Royale Henry IV. built a faire quadrangle of stately palaces, arched underneath. In the middle of a spacious area stands on a noble pedestal, a brazen statue of Louis XIII. w^ch^ tho made in imitation of that in y^e^ Roman Capitol, is nothing so much esteem'd as that on y^e^ Pont Neuf.

The hospital of the Quinze-Vingts in Rue St. Honoré is an excellent foundation ; but above all is the Hotel Dieu for men and women, neare Notre Dame, a princely, pious, and expensive structure. That of the Charité gave me great satisfaction in seeing how decently and Christianly the sick people are attended, even to delicacy. I have seen them served by noble persons, men and women. They have also gardens, walks, & fountaines. Divers persons are here cutt for the stone with greate succesee yearly in May. The two Chasteletts (supposed to have been built by Julius Cæsar) are places of Judicature in Criminal Causes, to which is a strong prison. The courts are spacious and magnificent.

Feb. 8th. I took coach and went to see the famous Jardine Royale, which is an enclosure walled in, consisting of all varieties of ground for planting and culture of medical simples. It is well chosen, having in it hills, meadows, wood and upland, naturall and

artificial, and is richly stor'd with exotic plants. In the middle of the Parterre is a faire fountaine. There is a very fine house, chapel, laboratory, orangery, & other accom'odations for the President, who is allways one of the King's cheife Physitians.

From hence we went to the other side of the towne, and to some distance from it, to the Bois de Vincennes, going by the Bastille, w^ch^ is the fortresse tower and magazine of this great citty. It is very spacious within, and there the Grand Master of the Artillery has his house, with faire gardens and walks.

The Bois de Vincennes has in it a square and noble castle, with magnificent apartments, fit for a Royal Court, not forgetting the chapell. It is the cheife prison for persons of quality. About it there is a parke walled in, full of deere, and in one part there is a grove of goodly pine-trees.

The next day I went to see the Louvre with more attention, its severall courts and pavilions. One of the quadrangles, begun by Henry IV. and finish'd by his son and grandson, is a superb but mix'd structure. The cornices, mouldings, & compartments, w^th^ the insertion of severall colour'd marbles, has been of great expence.

We went through the long gallery, pav'd w^th^ white & black marble, richly fretted and paynted *a fresca*. The front looking to the river, tho' of rare worke for y^e^ carving, yet wants of that magnificence which a plainer and truer designe would have contributed to it.

In y^e^ Cour aux Thuilleries is a princely fabriq; the winding geometrical stone stayres, with the cupola, I take to be as bold and noble a piece of architecture as any in Europ of the kind. To this is a *Corps de Logis*, worthy of so greate a Prince. Under these buildings, thro' a garden in which is an ample

fountaine, was the King's printing-house, and that famous letter so much esteem'd. Here I bought divers of the classiq authors, poets & others.

We return'd through another gallery, larger, but not so long, where hung the pictures of all the Kings and Queenes and prime Nobility of France.

Descending hence, we were let into a lower very large roome, call'd the Salle des Antiques, which is a vaulted Cimelia, destin'd for statues onely, amongst which stands that so celebrated Diana of the Ephesians, said to be the same which utter'd oracles in that renowned temple. Besides those Collosean figures of marble, I must not forget the huge globe suspended by chaynes. The pavings, inlayings, and incrustations of this hall are very rich.

In another more privat garden towards the Queene's apartment is a walke or cloyster under arches, whose terrace is paved with stones of a greate breadth ; it looks towards the river, and has a pleasant aviary, fountaine, stately cypresses, &c. On the river are seene a prodigious number of barges and boates of great length, full of hay, corne, wood, wine, and other commodities which this vast citty daily consumes. Under the long gallery we have described, dwell goldsmiths, paynters, statuaries, and architects, who being the most famous for their art in Christendom, have stipends allowed them by the King. Into that of Mon^{sr} Saracin we entered, who was then moulding for an image of a Madona to be cast in gold of a great size, to be sent by the Queene Regent to Lauretto, as an offering for the birth of the Dauphine, now the young King.

I finish'd this day with a walke in the greate garden of the Thuilleries, rarely contriv'd for privacy, shade, or company, by groves, plantations of tall trees, especialy that in y^{e} middle, being of elmes, the other of mulberys ; and that labyrinth of cypresse ; not omit-

ting the noble hedges of pomegranates, fountaines, fishponds, and an aviary; but above all the artificial echo, redoubling the words so distinctly, and as it is never without some faire nymph singing to its grate-full returns: standing at one of the focus's, which is under a tree, or little cabinet of hedges, the voice seems to descend from the clouds; at another as if it was underground. This being at the botome of y^e^ garden, we were let into another, which being kept with all imaginable accuratenesse as to the orangery, precious shrubes, and rare fruites, seem'd a paradise. From a tarrace in this place we saw so many coaches, as one would hardly think could be maintained in the whole citty, going, late as it was in the yeare, towards the course, which is a place adjoyning, of neere an English mile long, planted with 4 rows of trees, making a large circle in the middle. This course is walled about, neere breast high, w^th^ squar'd freestone, and has a stately arch at the entrance, with sculpture and statues about it, built by Mary di Medices. Here it is that the gallants and ladys of y^e^ Court take the ayre and divert themselves, as with us in Hide Park, the circle being capable of containing an hundred coaches to turne com'odiously, and the larger of the plantations for 5 or 6 coaches a breast.

Returning through the Thuilleries, we saw a building in which are kept wild beasts for the King's pleasure, a beare, a wolfe, a wild boare, a leopard, &c.

Feb. 27th. Accompany'd with some English gent^n^. we tooke horse to see St. Germains en Lay, a stately country-house of the King, some 5 leagues from Paris. By the way we alighted at St. Cloes, where, on an eminence neere the river, the Archbishop of Paris has a garden, for the house is not very considerable, rarely water'd and furnish'd with fountaines, statues, and groves; the walkes are very faire; the

fountain of Laocoon is in a large square pool, throwing the water neere 40 feet high, and having about it a multitude of statues and basines, and is a surprising object; but nothing is more esteem'd than the cascade falling from the greate stepps into the lowest and longest walke from the Mount Parnassus, which consists of a grotto, or shell-house, on y^e^ sum'it of the hill, wherein are divers waterworkes and contrivances to wet the spectators; this is covered with a fayre cupola, the walles paynted with the Muses, and statues placed thick about it, whereof some are antiq and good. In the upper walkes are two perspectives, seeming to enlarge the allys, and in this garden are many other ingenious contrivances. The palace, as I said, is not extraordinary. The outer walles onely paynted *a fresca*. In y^e^ court is a Volary, and the statues of Cha^s^. IX. Hen. III. IV. and Lewis XIII. on horseback, mezzo-relievod in plaster. In the garden is a small chapell; and under shelter is the figure of Cleopatra, taken from the Belvidere original, w^th^ others. From the tarrace above is a tempest well paynted, and thence an excellent prospect towards Paris, the meadows, & river.

At an inn in this village is an host who treats all the greate persons in princely lodgings for furniture and plate, but they pay well for it, as I have don. Indeede the entertainment is very splendid, and not unreasonable, considering the excellent manner of dressing their meate, and of the service. Here are many debauches and excessive revellings, as being out of all noyse and observance.

From hence about a league farther we went to see Cardinal Richelieu's villa at Ruell. The house is small, but fairely built, in form of a castle, moated round. The offices are towards the road, and over against it are large vineyards walled in. But though the house is not of the greatest, the gardens about it

are so magnificent that I doubt whether Italy has any exceeding it for all rarities of pleasure. The garden nearest the pavilion is a parterre, having in y^e^ middst divers noble brasse statues, perpetually spouting water into an ample bassin, with other figures of the same metal; but what is most admirable is the vast enclosure, and variety of ground, in y^e^ large garden, containing vineyards, corne-fields, meadows, groves (whereof one is of perennial greenes), and walkes of vast lengthes, so accurately kept and cultivated, that nothing can be more agreeable. On one of these walkes, within a square of tall trees, is a basilisc[1] of copper, wh^ch^ managed by the fountaniere casts water neere 60 feet high, and will of itself move round so swiftly, that one can hardly escape wetting. This leads to the Citroniere, which is a noble conserve of all those rarities; and at the end of it is the Arch of Constantine, painted on a wall in oyle, as large as the real one at Rome, so well don that even a man skill'd in painting may mistake it for stone and sculpture. The skie and hills which seem to be between the arches are so naturall that swallows and other birds, thinking to fly through, have dashed themselves against the wall. I was infinitely taken with this agreeable cheate. At the further part of this walke is that plentiful though artificial cascade, which rolls down a very steepe declivity, and over the marble steps and basins, w^th^ an astonishing noyse and fury; each basin hath a jetto in it, flowing like sheetes of transparent glasse, especialy that which rises over the greate shell of lead, from whence it glides silently downe a channell thro' the middle of a spacious gravel walke terminating in a grotto. Here are also fountaines y^t^ cast water to a great height, and large ponds, two of which have ilands for harbour of fowles,

[1] The imaginary animal or serpent so called.

of which there is store. One of these ilands has a receptacle for them built of vast pieces of rock, neere 50 feet high, growne over with mosse, ivy, &c. shaded at a competent distance with tall trees : in this rupellary nidary do the fowle lay eggs and breede. We then saw a large and very rare grotto of shell-worke, in the shape of satyres and other wild fancys : in y^e^ middle stands a marble table, on which a fountaine playes in divers formes of glasses, cupps, crosses, fanns, crownes, &c. Then the fountainiere represented a showre of rayne from the topp, mett by small jetts from below. At going out two extravagant musqueteeres shot us w^th^ a streme of water from their musket barrells. Before this grotto is a long poole into which ran divers spouts of water from leaden escollop basins. The viewing this paradise made us late at St. Germains.

The first building of this palace is of Charles V. called the Sage ; but Francis I. (that true virtuoso) made it compleate, speaking as to the style of magnificence then in fashion, which was w^th^ too greate a mixture of y^e^ Gotic, as may be seen in what there is remaining of his in y^e^ old Castle, an irregular peece as built on y^e^ old foundation, and having a moate about it. It has yet some spacious & handsome roomes of state, & a chapell neately paynted. The new Castle is at some distance, divided from this by a court, of a lower but more modern designe, built by Hen. IV. To this belong 6 tarraces built of brick & stone, descending in cascads towards the river, cut out of the natural hill, having under them goodly vaulted galleries; of these, foure have subterranean grotts & rocks, where are represented severall objects in the manner of sceanes, and other motions by force of water, shewn by the light of torches onely; amongst these is Orpheus w^th^ his musiq, & the animalls, w^ch^ dance after his harp; in y^e^ second is the

King and Dolphin;[1] in the third is Neptune sounding his trumpet, his charriot drawne by sea-horses; in the fourth the story of Perseus & Andromeda; mills; hermitages; men fishing; birds chirping; and many other devices. There is also a dry grott to refresh in, all having a fine prospect towards y^e^ river and the goodly country about it, especialy the forrest. At the bottom is a parterre; the upper tarrace neere half a myle in length, w^th^ double declivities, arched and baluster'd w^th^ stone, of vast and royal cost.

In the pavilion of y^e^ new Castle are many faire roomes, well paynted, and leading into a very noble garden and parke, where is a pall-maill, in y^e^ midst of which, on one of the sides, is a chapell, with stone cupola, tho' small, yet of an handsome order of architecture. Out of y^e^ parke you goe into y^e^ forrest, which being very large is stor'd with deare, wild boares, wolves, and other wild game. The Tennis Court and Cavelerizzo for y^e^ menag'd horses, are also observable.

We return'd to Paris by Madrid, another villa of the King's, built by Francis I. and called by that name to absolve him of his oath that he would not go from Madrid, in which he was prisoner in Spayne, but from whence he made his escape. This house is also built in a park, and walled in. We next called in at the Bonnes hommes, well situated, with a faire chapell & library.

March 1st. I went to see the Count de Liancourt's palace in y^e^ Rue de Seine, which is well built. Towards his study and bedchamber joynes a little garden, which tho' very narrow, by the addition of a well painted perspective is to appearance greatly enlarged; to this there is another part, supported by arches, in which runs a streame of water, rising in y^e^ aviary, out of a statue, and seeming to flow for some

[1] Dauphin.

miles, by being artificially continued in the painting, when it sinkes downe at the wall. It is a very agreeable deceipt. At the end of this garden is a little theater, made to change w^th^ divers pretty seanes, and the stage so ordered that with figures of men & women paynted on light-boards, and cut out, and, by a person who stands underneath, made to act as if they were speaking, by guiding them, & reciting words in different tones as the parts require. We were led into a round cabinet, where was a neate invention for reflecting lights by lining divers sconces with thin shining plates of gilded copper.

In one of the roomes of state was an excellent paynting of Poussin, being a Satyre kneeling; over y^e^ chimney, the Coronation of y^e^ Virgin by Paulo Veroneze; another Madona over the dore, and y^t^ of Jos. by Cigali; in the Hall, a Cavaliero di Malta attended by his page, sayd to be of Mich. Angelo; the Rape of Proserpine, w^th^ a very large landskip of Correggio. In y^e^ next roome are some payntings of Primaticcio, especialy the Helena, the naked Lady brought before Alexander, well paynted, and a Ceres. In the bed-chamber a picture of y^e^ Cardinal de Liancourt of Raphael, rarely colour'd. In y^e^ cabinet are divers pieces of Bassano, 2 of Polemburg, 4 of Paulo Brill, the skyes a little too blew. A Madona of Nicholao, excellently painted on a stone; a Judith of Mantegna; 3 Women of Jeronimo; one of Stenwick; a Madona after Titian, and a Magdalen of the same hand, as the Count esteemes it: 2 small pieces of Paulo Veroneze, being the Martyrdoms of St. Justina & St. Catherine; a Madona of Lucas Van Leyden, sent him from our King; 6 more of old Bassano; 2 excellent drawings of Albert; a Magdalen of Leonardo da Vinci; 4 of Paulo; a very rare Madona of Titian, given him also by our King; the Ecce Homo, shut up in a frame of velvet, for the

life and accurate finishing exceeding all description. Some curious achats, and a chaplet of admirable invention, the intaglias being all on fruit-stones. The Count was so exceeding civill that he would needes make his Lady goe out of her dressing-roome, that he might shew us the curiosities and pictures in it.

We went thence to visite one Mons. Perishot, one of the greatest virtuosos in France, for his collection of pictures, achates, medaills, and flowers, especialy tulips and anemonies. The chiefest of his payntings was a Sebastian of Titian.

From him we went to Mon^{sr}. Frene's, who shew'd us many rare drawings, a Rape of Helen in black chalke; many excellent things of Sneiders, all nakeds; some of Julio & Mich^{l} Angelo; a Madona of Passignano; some things of Parmensis, & other masters.

The next morning being recom'ended to one Mons. de Hausse, President du Parliament, and once Ambassador at Venice for the French King, we were very civily receiv'd, and shew'd his library. Amongst his paintings were, a rare Venus & Adonis of Veroneze, a St. Anthony after the first manner of Correggio, and a rare Madona of Palma.

Sonday 6 March. I went to Charenton, 2 leagues from Paris, to heare & see the manner of the French Protestant Churches service. The place of meeting they call y^{e} Temple, a very faire and spacious roome, built of free-stone, very decently adorn'd with payntings of the Tables of y^{e} Law, the Lords Prayer & Creede. The pulpit stands at the upper end in the middle, having an enclosure of seates about it, where the Elders, & persons of greatest quality and strangers, sit; the rest of y^{e} congregation on formes & low stooles, but none in pewes as in our churches, to their greate disgrace & nothing so orderly, as

here the stooles & other comber are remov'd when y^e^ assembly rises. I was greatly pleas'd with their harmonious singing the Psalms, which they all learn perfectly well, their children being as duely taught as their catechisme.

In our passage we went by that famous bridge over y^e^ Marne, where that renowned echo returnes the voice of a good singer 9 or 10 times.

March 7th. I set forwards with some company towards Fontaine Bleau, a sumptuous palace of the King's, like ours at Hampton Court, about 14 leagues from the citty. By the way we passe through a forest so prodigiously encompass'd with hideous rocks of whitish hard stone, heaped one on another in mountainous heights, that I think the like is no where to be found more horrid and solitary. It abounds w^th^ staggs, wolves, boares, & not long after a lynx or ounce was kill'd amongst them, which had devour'd some passengers. On the sum'it of one of these gloomy precipices, intermingl'd w^th^ trees and shrubs, the stones hanging over, & menaceing ruine, is built an hermitage. In these solitudes rogues frequently lurke & do mischeife (& for whom we were all well appoynted w^th^ our carabines), but we arived safe in the evening at the village, where we lay at the Horne, going early next morning to the Palace.

This house is nothing so stately and uniforme as Hampton Court, but Francis I. began much to beautifie it; most of all Henry IV. and not a little the late King. It abounds with faire halls, chambers, and gallerys; in the longest, which is 360 foote long, & 18 broad, are paynted the Victories of that great Prince Henry IV. That of Francis I. called the grand Gallery, has all the King's Palaces paynted in it; above these, in 60 pieces of excellent worke in fresca, is the History of Ulysses, from Homer, by Primaticcio in the tyme of Henry III. esteemed the

most renown'd in Europ for y^e^ designe. The Cabinet is full of excellent pictures, especialy a Woman of Raphael. In the hall of the Guards is a piece of tapistry painted on y^e^ wall, very naturally, representing the Victorys of Charles VII. over our countrymen. In the Salle des Festins is a rare Chimny-piece, & Henry IV. on horseback, of white marble, esteem'd worth 18,000 crowns; Clementia & Pax, nobly don. On columns of jasper, 2 lions of brasse. The new stayres, and a halfe circular court, are of modern and good architecture, as is a chapel built by Lewis XIII. all of jasper, with several incrustations of marble through the inside.

Having seene the roomes we went to y^e^ volary, w^ch^ has a cupola in the middle of it, greate trees and bushes, it being full of birds who drank at two fountaines. There is also a faire tennis court & noble stables; but the beauty of all are the gardens. In y^e^ Court of y^e^ Fountaines stand divers antiquities and statues, especialy a Mercury. In y^e^ Queenes Garden is a Diana ejecting a fountaine, with numerous other brasse statues.

The greate garden, 180 toises long and 154 wide, has in the center a fountayne of Tyber of a Colossean figure of brasse, with the Wolfe over Romulus & Rhemus. At each corner of the garden rises a fountaine. In the garden of the piscina is an Hercules of white marble: next is that of the pines, and without that a canale of an English mile in length, at y^e^ end of which rise 3 jettos in the form of a fleur de lys, of a great height; on the margin are excellent walkes planted w^th^ trees. The carps come familiarly to hand [to be fed]. Hence they brought us to a spring, which they say being first discover'd by a dog, gave occasion of beautifying this place, both w^th^ the palace and gardens. The white and terrific rocks at some distance in the forest yeald one of the most

august & stupendous prospects imaginable. The parke about this place is very large, & the towne full of noblemen's houses.

Next morning we were invited by a paynter, who was keeper of y^e^ pictures and rarities, to see his owne collection. We were led thro' a gallery of old Rosso's worke, at the end of which, in another cabinet, were 3 Madonas of Raphael, and 2 of Andrea del Sarto. In y^e^ Academy where y^e^ Paynter himself wrought, was a St. Michael of Raphael, very rare; St. Jo. Baptist of Leonardo, & a Woman's head; a Queene of Sicily & St. Margaret of Raphael; 2 more Madonas, whereof one very large, by y^e^ same hand; some more of del Sarto; a St. Jerome of Perino del Vaga; the Rape of Proserpine, very good; and a greate number of drawings.

Returning part of our way to Paris, that day, we visited an house cal'd Maison Rouge, having an excellent prospect, grott, & fountaines, one whereof rises 50 feet, & resembles the noise of a tempest, battailles of guns, &c. at its issue.

Thence to Essone, a house of Mons^r^. Essling, who is a greate vertuoso; there are many good payntings in it, but nothing so observable as his gardens, fountaines, fish-pooles, especialy y^t^ in a triangular forme, the water cast out by a multitude of heads about it; there is a noble cascade and pretty bathes, with all accommodations. Under a marble table is a fountaine of serpents twisting about a globe.

We alighted next at Corbeil, a towne famous for the seige of Hen. IV. Here we slept, & return'd next morning to Paris.

March 18th. I went with S^r^ Jo. Cotton, a Cambridg-shire Kn^t^. a journey into Normandy. The first day we passed by Gaillon, the Archbishop of Rouen's palace. The gardens are highly com'ended, but we did not go in, intending to reach Pontoise by

RAFFAELLO D'URBINO

Engraved by Thos. Vaughton from an original drawing by Raffaello
in the collection of William Young Ottley Esq.r

dinner. This towne is built in a very gallant place, has a noble bridge over the Oize, and is well refresh'd w^th^ fountaines.

This is the first towne in Normandy, and the farthest that the vineyards extend to on this side of the country, which is fuller of playnes, wood, and enclosures, w^th^ some townes towards y^e^ sea, very like England.

We lay this night at a vilage call'd Magny. The next day, descending a very steepe hill, we din'd at Fleury, and after riding 5 leagues downe St. Catharine, to Rouen, which affords a goodly prospect, to the ruines of that chapell & mountaine. This country so abounds with wolves that a sheepheard whom we met told us one of his companions was strangled by one of them the day before, & that in the middst of his flock. The feilds are mostly planted w^th^ peares & apples & other cider fruites. It is plentifully furnish'd w^th^ quarries of stone & slate, & hath iron in abundance.

I lay at the White Crosse in Rouen, which is a very large citty, on y^e^ Seine, having two smaller rivers besides, call'd y^e^ Aubelt and Lobes. There stand yet the ruines of a magnificent bridge of stone, now supply'd by one of boates only, to which come up vessells of considerable burthen. The other side of y^e^ water consists of meadows, and there have y^e^ Reformed a Church.

The Cathedrall Nostre Dame was built, as they acknowledge, by the English; some English words graven in Gotic characters upon the front seeme to confirm it. The towers & whole church are full of carving. It has 3 steeples w^th^ a pyramid; in one of these I saw the famous bell so much talk'd off, 13 foote in height, 32 round, the diameter 11, weighing 40,000 pounds.

In the Chapel d'Amboise, built by a Cardinal of

that name, lies his body, with several faire monuments. The quire has behind it a greate dragon paynted on the wall, w^ch^ they say had don much harme to the inhabitants till vanquished by St. Romain their Archbishop, for which there is an annual procession. It was now neere Easter, and many images were expos'd with scenes & stories representing y^e^ Passion, made up of little puppets, to which there was great resort and devotion, with offerings. Before the church is a faire palace. St. Owen is another goodly church and an abby w^th^ fine gardens. Here the King hath lodgings when he makes his progresse through these parts. The structure where the Court of Parliament is kept is very magnificent, containing very faire halles & chambers, especialy La Chambre d'Orée. The towne-house is also well built, and so are some gentlemen's houses; but most part of the rest are of timber, like our merchants in London, in the wooden part of the citty.

March 21st. On Easter Moneday we din'd at Totes, a solitary inn between Rouen & Diepe, at which latter place we arrived. This towne is situated betweene two mountaines, not unpleasantly, and is washed on y^e^ North by our English seas.

The port is com'odious, but the entrance difficult. It has one very ample & faire street, in which is a pretty church. The Fort Pollet consists of a strong earth-worke, and com'ands the haven, as on the other side dos the castle, which is also well fortified, w^th^ the citadel before it; nor is the towne itself a little strong. It abounds with workmen, who make and sell curiosities of ivory and tortoise-shells; & indeed whatever the East Indys afford of cabinets, purcelan, natural & exotic rarities, are here to be had w^th^ abundant choyce.

March 23rd. We pass'd along the coast by a very

rocky and rugged way, which forc'd us to alight many times before we came to Havre de Grace, where we lay that night.

The next morning we saw the citadel, strong and regular, well stor'd with artillery and ammunition of all sorts: the works furnish'd with faire brasse canon, having a motto, *Ratio ultima Regum.* The allogiaments of the garrison are uniforme; a spacious place for drawing up the soldiers, a pretty chapell, and a faire house for the Governor. The Duke of Richelieu being now in the fort, we went to salute him; who receiv'd us very civily, and com'anded that we should be show'd whatever we desired to see. The citadel was built by the late Card. de Richelieu, unkle of the present Duke, and may be esteemed one of the strongest in France. The haven is very capacious.

When we had don here we embarqued ourselves and horses to passe to Honfleur, about 4 or 5 leagues distant, where the Seine falls into the sea. It is a poore fisher towne, remarkable for nothing so much as the odd yet usefull habites which the good women weare, of beares and other skinns, as of ruggs at Dieppe, and all along these maritime coasts.

March 25th. We ariv'd at Caen, a noble and beautifull towne, situate on the river Orne, which passes quite thro' it, the two sides of the towne joyn'd only by a bridge of one entire arch. We lay at the Angel, where we were very well us'd, the place being aboundantly furnish'd with provisions at a cheape rate. The most considerable object is the great abby and church, large and rich, built after the Gotic manner, having two spires and middle lanterne at the west end, all of stone. The quire round and large, in y^e^ centre whereof, elevated on a square, handsome, but plain sepulchre, is this inscription:

"Hoc sepulchrum invictissimi juxta et clementissimi conquestoris, Gulielmi, dum viverat Anglorum Regis, Normannorum Cæno-

manorumque Principis, hujus insignis Abbatiae piissimi Fundatoris: Cum anno 1562 vesano hereticorum furore direptum fuisset, pio tandem nobilium ejusdem Abbatiae religiosorum gratitudinis sensu in tam beneficum largitorem, instauratum fuit, a° D'ni 1642. D'no Johanne de Bailhache asætorii proto priore. D. D."

On the other side are these monkish rhymes:

Qui rexit rigidos Northmanos, atq. Britanos
Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
Et Cænomanensis virtute coërcuit ensis,
Imperiique sui Legibus applicuit.
Rex magnus parvâ jacet hac Gulielm^s^ in urnâ,
Sufficit et magno parva domus Domino.
Ter septem gradibus te volverat atq. duobus
Virginis in gremio Phœbus, et hic obiit.

We went to y^e^ castle, which is strong and fayre, and so is the towne-house, built on the bridg which unites the two townes. Here are scholes and an University for the Jurists.

The whole town is handsomely built of y^t^ excellent stone so well knowne by that name in England. I was lead to a pretty garden, planted with hedges of alaternus, having at the entrance a skreene at an exceeding height, accurately cutt in topiary worke, with well understood architecture, consisting of pillars, niches, freezes, and other ornaments, w^th^ greate curiosity; some of the columns curiously wreathed, others spirall, all according to art.

March 28th. We went towards Paris, lying the first night at Evreux, a Bishop's seate, an ancient towne, w^th^ a faire cathedral; so the next day we arrived at Paris.

April 1st. I went to see more exactly the roomes of the fine palace of Luxemburge, in the Fauxbourg St. Germains, built by Mary de Medices, and I think one of the most noble, entire, and finish'd piles, that is to be seene, taking it with the garden and all its accomplishments. The gallery is of the painting of Rubens, being the history of the Foundresses Life,

rarely designed; at the end of it is the Duke of Orleans's library, well furnished w^th^ excellent bookes, all bound in maroquin and gilded, the valans of the shelves being of greene velvet, fring'd with gold. In the cabinet joyning to it are onely the smaler volumes, with 6 cabinets of medails, and an excellent collection of shells and achates, whereof some are prodigiously rich. This Duke being very learn'd in medails and plants, nothing of that kind escapes him. There are other spacious, noble, and princely furnish'd roomes, which looke towards the gardens, which are nothing inferior to the rest.

The court below is formed into a square by a corridor, having over the cheife entrance a stately cupola, covered with stone; the rest is cloistered and arch'd on pillasters of rustiq worke. The tarace ascending before the front, pav'd w^th^ white & black marble, is balustred with white marble, exquisitely polish'd.

Onely the hall below is lowe, and the stayre-case somewhat of a heavy designe, but the faciata towards the parterr, which is also arched & vaulted w^th^ stone, is of admirable beauty, and full of sculpture.

The gardens are neere an English mile in compasse, enclos'd w^th^ a stately wall, and in a good ayre. The parterr is indeed of box, but so rarely design'd and accurately kept cut, that the embroidery makes a wonderful effect to the lodgings which front it. 'Tis divided into 4 squares, & as many circular knots, having in y^e^ center a noble basin of marble neere 30 foote diameter (as I remember), in which a triton of brasse holds a dolphin that casts a girandola of water neere 30 foote high, playing perpetualy, the water being convey'd from Arceuil by an aqueduct of stone, built after y^e^ old Roman magnificence. About this ample parterr, the spacious walkes & all included, runs a border of freestone, adorn'd w^th^ pedestalls for potts and statues, and part of it neere the

stepps of the terrace, with a raile and baluster of pure white marble.

The walkes are exactly faire, long, & variously descending, and so justly planted with limes, elms, & other trees, that nothing can be more delicious, especially that of the horne-beame hedge, w^{ch} being high and stately, butts full on the fountaine.

Towards the farther end is an excavation intended for a vast fish-pool, but never finish'd, and neere it is an inclousure for a garden of simples, well kept, and here the Duke keepes tortoises in greate number, who use the poole of water on one side of the garden. Here is also a conservatory for snow. At the upper part towards the palace is a grove of tall elmes cutt into a starr, every ray being a walke, whose center is a large fountaine.

The rest of the ground is made into severall inclosures (all hedge-worke or rowes of trees) of whole fields, meadowes, boscages, some of them containing divers ackers.

Next the streete side, and more contiguous to y^{e} house, are knotts in trayle or grasse worke, where likewise runs a fountaine. Towards the grotto and stables, within a wall, is a garden of choyce flowers, in which the Duke spends many thousand pistoles. In sum, nothing is wanting to render this palace and gardens perfectly beautifull & magnificent; nor is it one of the least diversions to see the number of persons of quality, citizens and strangers, who frequent it, and to whom all accesse is freely permitted, so that you shall see some walkes & retirements full of gallants and ladys; in others melancholy fryers; in others studious scholars; in others jolly citizens, some sitting or lying on y^{e} grasse, others running and jumping; some playing at bowles and ball, others dancing and singing; and all this without the least disturbance, by reason of the largeness of the place.

What is most admirable, you see no gardners or men at worke, and yet all is kept in such exquisite order, as if they did nothing else but worke; it is so early in the morning, that all is dispatch'd and don without y^e^ least confusion.

I have been y^e^ larger in the description of this paradise, for the extraordinary delight I have taken in those sweete retirements. The Cabinet and Chapel neerer y^e^ garden front have some choyce pictures. All the houses neere this are also very noble palaces, especialy Petite Luxemburge. The ascent of the streete is handsome from its breadth, situation, and buildings.

I went next to view Paris from the top of St. Jacques steeple, esteem'd the highest in the towne, from whence I had a full view of the whole citty and suburbs, both which, as I judge, are not so large as London: though the dissimilitude of their severall formes and situations, this being round, London long, renders it difficult to determine; but there is no comparison between the buildings, palaces, and materials, this being entirely of stone and more sumptuous, tho' I esteeme our piazzas to exceede theirs.

Hence I tooke a turne in St. Innocent's churchyard, where the story of the devouring quality of the ground (consuming bodys in 24 houres), the vast charnells of bones, tombs, piramids, and sepulchres, tooke up much of my time, together with the hieroglyphical characters of Nicholas Flamel's philosophical worke, who had founded this church, and divers other charitable establishments, as he testifies in his booke.

Here divers clearks get their livelyhood by inditing letters for poore mayds & other ignorant people who come to them for advise, & to write for them into y^e^ country, both to their sweete-hearts, parents, and friends, every large grave-stone serving for a table.

Joyning to this church is a com'on fountaine, with good relievo's upon it.

The next day I was carried to see a French gentleman's curious collection, which abounded in faire & rich jewels of all sorts of precious stones, most of them of greate sizes and value; achates & onexes, some of them admirably colour'd & antique; nor inferior were his landskips from the best hands, most of which he had caused to be copy'd in minature; one of which, rarely paynted on stone, was broken by one of our company, by the mischance of setting it up; but such was the temper & civility of the gentleman, that it altered nothing of his free & noble humor.

The next morning I was had by a friend to the garden of Mons^{r}. Morine, who from being an ordinary gardner is become one of y^{e} most skillful & curious persons in France for his rare collection of shells, flowers, & insects.

His garden is of an exact oval figure, planted wth cypresse cutt flat & set as even as a wall: the tulips, anemonies, ranunculus's, crocus's, &c. are held to be of the rarest, and draw all the admirers of that kind to his house during the season. He lived in a kind of hermitage at one side of his garden, where his collection of purselan and currall, whereof one is carved into a large Crucifix, is much esteemed. He has also books of prints, by Albert [Durer], Van Leyden, Callot, &c. His collection of all sorts of insects, especialy of butterflys, is most curious; these he spreads and so medicates that no corruption invading them, he keepes them in drawers, so plac'd as to represent a beautifull piece of tapissry.

He shew'd me the remarks he had made on their propagation, w^{ch} he promis'd to publish. Some of these, as also of his best flowers, he had caus'd to be painted in miniature by rare hands, and some in oyle.

6th. I sent my sister my owne picture in water colours, which she requested of me, and went to see divers of the fairest palaces of the towne, as that of Vendosme, very large and stately; Longueville; Guyse; Condé; Chevereuse; Nevers, esteem'd one of the best in Paris towards the river.

I often went to the Palais Cardinal, bequeathed by Richelieu to the King, on condition that it should be called by his name; at this time the King resided in it because of the building of the Louvre. It is a very noble house, tho' somewhat low; the gallerys, paintings of the most illustrious persons of both sexes, the Queenes bathes, presence chamber with its rich carved and gilded roofe, theatre, & large garden, in which is an ample fountaine, grove and maille, are worthy of remark. Here I also frequently went to see them ride and exercise the greate horse, especialy at the Academy of Mons^{r}. du Plessis, and de Veau, whose scholes of y^{t} art are frequented by the nobility; and here also young gentlemen are taught to fence, daunce, play on musiq, and something in fortification & y^{e} mathematics. The designe is admirable, some keeping neere an hundred brave horses, all managed to y^{e} greate saddle.

12th. I took coach to see a general muster of all the *gens d'armes* about y^{e} Citty in the Bois de Boulogne before their Majesties and all y^{e} Grandees. They were reputed to be neere 20,000, besides the spectators, who much exceeded them in number. Here they performed all their motions, and being drawne up, horse and foote, into several figures, represented a battell.

The sum'er now drawing neere, I determined to spend the rest of it in some more remote towne on the river Loire; and on 19 April I tooke leave of Paris, and, by the way of the messenger, agreed for my passage to Orleans.

The way from Paris to this citty, as indeede most of the roades in France, is paved with a small square free-stone, so that the country dos not much molest the traveller with dirt and ill way, as in England, onely 'tis somewhat hard to y^e^ poore horses feete, which causes them to ride more temperately, seldom going out of the trot, or *grand pas*, as they call it. We passed divers wall'd townes or villages; amongst others of note, Chartres and Estampes, where we lay the first night. This has a faire church. The next day we had an excellent road, but had like to come short home; for no sooner were we entred two or three leagues into y^e^ Forest of Orleans (which extends itself many miles), but the company behind us were set on by rogues, who, shooting from y^e^ hedges and frequent covert, slew fowre upon the spot. Amongst the slayne was a captaine of Swisses, of y^e^ regiment of Picardy, a person much lamented. This disaster made such an alarme in Orleans at our arival, that the Prevost Martial, w^th^ his assistants, going in pursuite, brought in two whom they had shot, and exposed them in y^e^ greate market-place, to see if any would take cognizance of y^m^. I had greate cause to give God thankes for this escape. When coming to Orleans and lying at the White Crosse, I found Mr. John Nicholas, eldest son to Mr. Secretary.

April 21st. I went about to view the citty, which is well built of stone, on the side of the Loyre. About the middle of y^e^ river is an iland, full of walkes and faire trees, with some houses. This is contiguous to y^e^ towne by a stately stone bridge, reaching to the opposite suburbs, built likewise on the edge of an hill, from whence is a beautifull prospect. At one of the extremes of the bridge are strong toures, and about the middle, on one side, is the statue of y^e^ Virgin Mary or Pieta, with the dead

Christ in her lap, as big as the life. At one side of the crosse kneeles Charles VII. arm'd, and at y^e^ other, Joan d'Arc, arm'd also like a cavalier, w^th^ boots and spurrs, her hayre dischevel'd, as the deliveress of the towne from our countrymen, when they besieg'd it. The figures are all cast in coper, with a pedestall full of inscriptions, as well as a faire column joyning it, which is all adorn'd with fleurs de lys and a crucifix, w^th^ two saints proceeding as it were from two branches out of its capital. The inscriptions on the crosse are in Latine: "Mors Christi in cruce nos a contagione labis et æturnorum morborum sanavit." On the pedestal: "Rex in hoc signo hostes profligavit, et Johan'a Virgo Aureliam obsidio liberavit. Non diu ab impiis diruta, restituta sunt hoc anno D'ni 1578. Jean Buret, m. f."— "Octannoq' Galliam servitute Britannicâ liberavit. A Domino factum est illud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris; in quorum memoriâ hæc nostræ fidei Insignia." To this is made an annual procession on 12 May, masse being sung before it, attended with great ceremony and concourse of people. The wine of this place is so strong, that the King's cup-bearers are, as I was assured, sworne never to give the King any of it; but it is a very noble liquor, and much of it transported into other countrys. The towne is much frequented by strangers, especially Germans, for the greate purity of the language here spoken, as well as for divers other priviledges, and the University, which causes the English to make no long sojourne here, except such as can drinke and debauch. The citty stands in the county of Beaulse; was once styled a Kingdome, afterwards a Dutchy, as at present, belonging to the second son of France. Many Councils have been held here, and some Kings crown'd. The University is very ancient, divided now by the students into that of four nations,

French, High Dutch, Normans, and Picardins, who have each their respective protectors, severall officers, treasurers, consuls, seales, &c. There are in it two reasonable faire publiq libraries, whence one may borrow a booke to one's chamber, giving but a note under hand, w^ch^ is an extraordinary custome, and a confidence that has cost many libraries deare. The first church I went to visite was St. Croix; it has been a stately fabric, but now much ruin'd by the late Civil Warrs. They report the towre of it to have beene the highest in France. There is the beginning of a faire reperation. About this cathedrall is a very spacious cemeterie. The towne-hous is also very nobly built, with a high tower to it. The market-place and streetes, some whereof are deliciously planted with limes, are ample and straite, so well paved w^th^ a kind of pibble, that I have not seen a neater towne in France. In fine this citty was by Francis I. esteemed the most agreable of his vast dominions.

April 28th. Taking boate on the Loire, I went towards Blois, the passage and river being both very pleasant. Passing Mehun, we dined at Baugenci, and slept at a little towne called St. Dieu. Quitting our barke, we hired horses to Blois, by the way of Chambourg, a famous house of y^e^ King's, built by Francis I. in y^e^ middle of a solitary parke, full of deere, enclosed with a wall. I was particularly desirous of seeing this palace, from the extravagance of the designe, especialy the stayre-case, mentioned by Palladio. It is said that 1800 workmen were constantly employ'd in this fabric for twelve yeares; if so, it is wonderfull that it was not finish'd, it being no greater than divers gentlemens houses in England, both for roome and circuit. The carvings are indeede very rich and full. The stayre-case is devised w^th^ four entries or ascents, which cross one

another, so that tho' four persons meete, they never come in sight, but by small loopeholes, till they land. It consists of 274 stepps (as I remember), and is an extraordinary worke, but of far greater expense than use or beauty. The chimnys of the house appeare like so many towres. About the whole is a large deepe moate. The country about it full of corne and wine, with many faire noblemens houses.

We ariv'd at Blois in the evening. The towne is hilly, uneven, and rugged, standing on the side of the Loire, having suburbs joyn'd by a stately stone bridg, on which is a pyramid with an inscription. At the entrance of the castle is a stone statue of Louis XII. on horseback, as large as life, under a Gotic state; and a little below are these words:

"Hic ubi natus erat dextro Ludovicus Olympo
Sumpsit honorata regia sceptra manu;
Felix quæ tanti fulsit Lux nuncia Regis
Gallica non alio principe digna fuit."

Under this is a very wide payre of gates, nailed full of wolves and wild-boars heads. Behind y^e^ castle the present Duke Gastion had begun a faire building, through which we walked into a large garden, esteemed for its furniture one of the fairest, especialy for simples and exotic plants, in which he takes extraordinary delight. On the right hand is a longe gallery full of ancient statues and inscriptions, both of marble and brasse; the length, 300 paces, divides the garden into higher and lower ground, having a very noble fountaine. There is the portrait of an hart, taken in the forest by Lewis XII. which has 24 antlers on its head. In the Collegiate Church of St. Saviour we saw many sepulchres of the Earles of Blois.

On Sonday, being May day, we walked up into y^e^ Pall Mall, very long, and so nobly shaded w^th^ tall

trees (being in the midst of a greate wood), that, unless that of Tours, I had not seen a statelier.

From hence we proceeded with a friend of mine through the adjoyning forest, to see if we could meete any wolves, which are here in such numbers that they often come and take children out of the very streetes; yet will not the Duke, who is sovraigne here, permite them to be destroy'd. We walked five or six miles outright, but met with none; yet a gentleman, who was resting himselfe under a tree, w^th^ his horse grazing by him, told us that, halfe an houre before, two wolves had set upon his horse, and had in probability devour'd him, but for a dog w^ch^ lay by him. At a little village at the end of this wood we eate excellent creame, and visited a castle builded on a very steepe cliff.

Blois is a towne where the language is exactly spoken; the inhabitants very courteous; the ayre so good, that it is the ordinary nursery of the King's children. The people are so ingenious, that, for goldsmith's worke and watches, no place in France affords the like. The pastures by the river are very rich and pleasant.

May 2nd. We tooke boate againe, passing by Charmont, a proud castle on y^e^ left hand; before it is a sweete iland, deliciously shaded with tall trees. A little distance from hence we went on shore at Ambois, a very agreeable village, built of stone, and the houses covered with blue slate, as the towns on the Loyre generally are; but the castle chiefely invited us, the thicknesse of whose towres, from the river to y^e^ top, was admirable. We enter'd by the drawbridg, which has an invention to let one fall, if not præmonished. It is full of halls and spacious chambers, and one stayre-case is large enough, and sufficiently com'odious, to receive a coach, and land it on the very towre, as they told us had been don.

There is some artillery in it: but that which is most observable is in the antient chapell, viz. a stagg's head or branches, hung up by chaynes, consisting of twenty brow antlers, the beame bigger than a man's middle, and of an incredible length. Indeed it is monstrous, and yet I cannot conceive how it should be artificial: they shew also the ribs and vertebræ of the same beast; but these might be made of whalebone.

Leaving the castle we pass'd Mont Louis, a village having no house above ground, but such onely as are hewn out of the maine rocks of excellent free-stone. Here & there the funnell of a chimny appears on the surface amongst the vineyards which are over them, and in this manner they inhabite y^e^ caves, as it were sea-cliffs, on one side of the river for many miles.

We now come within sight of Tours, where we were design'd for the rest of the time I had resolv'd to stay in France, the sojournment being so agreeable. Tours is situate on the easy side of an hill on the river Loyre, having a faire bridge of stone, called St. Edme; the streetes are very long, straite, spacious, well built, & exceeding cleane; the suburbs large and pleasant, joyn'd to the citty by another bridg. Both the church and monastry of St. Martin are large, of Gotic building, having 4 square towers, faire organs, and a stately altar where they shew the bones & ashes of St. Martine, with other reliques. The mall without comparison is the noblest in Europe for length and shade, having 7 rowes of the tallest and goodliest elms I had ever beheld, the innermost of which do so embrace each other, & at such a height, that nothing can be more solemn and majestical. Here we play'd a party or two, and then walked about the towne-walles, built of square-stone, fill'd w^th^

earth, & having a moate. No citty in France exceeds it in beauty or delight.

May 6th. We went to St. Gratian, reported to have been built by our country-men; the dyal and clock-work are much esteem'd. The church has two handsom towres & spires of stone, and the whole fabric is very noble and venerable. To this joynes the palace of the Archbishop, consisting both of old and new building, with many faire roomes, and a faire garden. Here I grew acquainted with one Mons^{r}. Merey, a very good Musitian. The Archbishop treated me very courteously. We visited divers other churches, chapells, & monasteries, for the most part neatly built, & full of pretty paynt-ings, especialy the convent of y^{e} Capucines, which has a prospect over the whole citty, and many faire walkes.

8th. I went to see their manufactures in silke (for in this towne they drive a very considerable trade wth silke-wormes), their pressing & watering the gro-grams and chambletts, with weights of an extraordi-nary poyse, put into a rolling-engine. Here I took a master of the language and studied the tongue very diligently, recreating myself sometimes at the maill, and sometymes about the towne. The house opposite my lodging had been formerly a King's Palace, the outside was totaly cover'd with fleur de lyes, emboss'd out of y^{e} stone. Here Mary de Medice held her Court when she was compell'd to retire from Paris by the persecution of the greate Cardinal.

25th. Was the *Fête Dieu*, and a goodly procession of all the religious orders, the whole streetes hung with their best tappissrys, and their most precious moveables expos'd; silks, damasks, velvets, plate, and pictures in abundance; the streetes strew'd wth flowres, and full of pageantry, banners, and bravery.

June 6th. I went by water to visit that goodly and venerable Abby of Marmoustier, being one of the greatest in the kingdome: to it is a very ample church of stone, w^th^ a very high pyramid. Amongst other reliques the Monkes shew'd us is the Holy Ampoule, the same w^th^ that which *sacres* their Kings at Rhemes, this being the one that anoynted Hen. IV. Ascending many stepps we went into the Abbot's palace, where we were shew'd a vast tun (as big as that at Heidelberg), which they report St. Martin (as I remember) filled from one cluster of grapes growing there.

7th. We walked about 2 miles from y^e^ citty to an agreeable solitude called Du Plessis, a house belonging to y^e^ King. It has many pretty gardens, full of nightingales: and in the chapell lyes buried the famous poet Ronsard.

Returning, we stepp'd into a convent of Franciscans called St. Cosmo, where the cloister is painted with the miracles of their St. Francis a Paula, whose ashes lie in their chapell, with this inscription: "Corpus Sancti Fran. à Paula 1507. 13 Aprilis. concrematur verò ab Hæreticis a° 1562, cujus quidem ossa et cineres hic jacent." The tomb has 4 small pyramids of marble at each corner.

9th. I was invited to a vineyard, which was so artificialy planted and supported w^th^ arched poles that stooping downe one might see from end to end, a very greate length, under the vines, the bunches hanging down in aboundance.

20th. We took hors to see certain natural caves, called Goutiere, neare Colombiere, where there is a spring within the bowells of y^e^ earth, very deepe & so excessive cold that the drops meeting w^th^ some lapidescent matter, converts them into an hard stone, which hangs about it like icicles, having many others in the forme of comfitures and suggar plums as wee call them.

Neere this we went under the ground almost two furlongs, lighted w^th^ candles, to see the source & spring which serves the whole citty, by a passage cut through the maine rock of free-stone.

28th. I went to see the palace and gardens of Chevereux, a sweete place.

30th. I walked through the vineyards as far as Roche Corbé, to the ruines of an old & very strong castle sayd to have been built by the English, of great height, on the precipice of a dreadfull cliff, from whence the country and river yeald a most incomparable prospect.

July 27th. I heard excellent musiq at the Jesuites, who have here a Schole and Convent, but a meane chapell. We had now store of those admirable melons, so much celebrated in France for the best in the kingdom.

Aug. 1st. My valet, one Garro, a Spaynard borne in Biscay, having misbehaved, I was forced to discharge him; he demanded of me (besides his wages) no lesse then 100 crownes to carry him to his country; refusing to pay it, as no part of our agreement, he had the impudence to arrest me; the next day I was to appear in court, where both our advocats pleaded before the Lieutennant Civile: but it was so unreasonable a pretence that the Judge had not patience to heare it out. The Judge immediately acquitting me, after he had reproached the Advocate who tooke part w^th^ my servant, he rose from the Bench, and making a courteous excuse to me, that being a stranger I should be so us'd, he conducted mee through the court to y^e^ streete-dore. This varlet afterwards threatened to pistol me. The next day I waited on the Lieutennant to thanke him for his greate civility.

18th. The Queene of England came to Tours, having newly arriv'd in France, and going for Paris.

She was very nobly receiv'd by the people and cleargy, who went to meete her with the trained bands. After the harangue the Archbishop entertain'd her at his palace, where I paid my duty to her. The 20th she set forward to Paris.

Sept. 8th. Two of my kinsmen came from Paris to this place, where I settled them in their pension and exercises.

14th. We tooke post for Richelieu, passing by l'Isle Bouchard, a village in the way. The next day we arriv'd, and went to see the Cardinal's palace neere it. The towne is built in a low, marshy ground, having a narrow river cut by hand, very even and straite, capable of bringing up a small vessell. It consists of onely one considerable streete, the houses on both sides (as indeed throughout y^e^ towne) built exactly uniforme, after a moderne handsome designe. It has a large goodly market-house and place, opposite to which is the church built of free-stone, having two pyramids of stone, w^ch^ stand hollow from the towers. The church is well built, and of a well-order'd architecture, within handsomely pav'd and adorn'd. To this place belongs an Academy, where, besides y^e^ exercise of the horse, armes, dauncing, &c. all the sciences are taught in the vulgar French by professors stipendiated by the greate Cardinal, who by this, the cheape living there, & divers priviledges, not only design'd the improvement of the vulgar language, but to draw people and strangers to the towne; but since the Cardinal's death it is thinly inhabited, standing so much out of the way, and in a place not well situated for health or pleasure. He was allured to build by the name of the place, and an old house there belonging to his ancestors. This pretty towne is handsomely wall'd about & moated, w^th^ a kind of slight fortification, two faire gates & draw-bridges. Before the gate towards

the palace is a spacious circle, where the faire is annually kept. Aboute a flite-shot from the towne is the Cardinal's house, a princely pile, tho' on an old designe, not altogether Gotiq, but mix'd, inviron'd by a cleare moate. The roomes are stately, most richly furnish'd with tissue, damask, aras, and velvet, pictures, statues, vases, & all sorts of antiquities, especialy the Cæsars in oriental alabaster. The long gallery is paynted wth the famous acts of the Founder; the roofe wth the life of Julius Cæsar; at the end of it is a cupola or singing theatre, supported by very stately pillars of black marble. The chapell anciently belonged to the family of the Founder. The court is very ample. The gardens without are very large, and the parterrs of excellent imbrodry, set with many statues of brasse and marble; the groves, meadows, and walkes are a real Paradise.

16th. We return'd to Tours, from whence, after 19 weekes sojourne, we travelled towards the more southern parte of France, minding now to shape my course so as I might winter in Italy. With my friend Mr. Thicknesse and our guide, we went the first day 7 leagues to a castle called Chenonceaux, built by Cath. de Medices, and now belonging to the Duke de Vendosme, standing on a bridg. In the gallery, amongst divers other excellent statues, is that of Scipio Africanus, of oriental alabaster.

21st. We pass'd by Ville Franche, where we din'd, and so by Muneton, lying at Viaron au mouton, w^{ch} was 20 leagues. The next day by Murg to Bourges, 4 leagues, where we spent the day. This is the capital of Berry, an University much frequented by the Dutch, situated on the river Eure. It stands high, is strong, & well placed for defence: is inviron'd with meadows and vines, and the living here is very cheap. In the suburbs of St. Privé

there is a fountayne of sharp water w^ch^ they report wholesome against the stone. They shew'd us a vast tree w^ch^ they say stands in the center of France. The French tongue is spoken with great purity in this place. St. Stephens's church is y^e^ cathedrall, well built à la Gotic, full of sepulchres without-side, with the representation of the final judgment over one of the ports. Here they shew the chapel of Claude de la Chastre, a famous souldier, who had serv'd six Kings of France in their warrs. St. Chapelle is built much like that at Paris, full of reliques, and the bones of one Briat, a gyant of 15 cubits high. It was erected by John Duke of Berry, and there is shew'd the coronet of the dukedom. The greate tour is a Pharos for defence of the towne, very strong, in thicknesse 18 foote, fortified with graft and workes ; there is a garrison in it, and a strange engine for throwing great stones, and the yron cage where Lewes Duke of Orleans was kept by Charles VIII. Neere y^e^ Towne-house stands the Colledge of Jesuites, where was heretofore an Amphitheatre. I was courteously entertayned by a Jesuit, who had us into y^e^ garden, where we fell into disputation. The house of Jaques Coeur is worth seeing. Bourges is an Archbishopric, and Primate of Aquitaine. I tooke my leave of Mr. Nicholas and some other English there ; & on the 23d proceeded on my journey by Pont du Charge ; and lay that evening at Coulaiure, 13 leagues.

24th, by Franchesse, St. Menoux, thence to Moulins where we din'd This is the chiefe towne of the Bourbonois, on y^e^ river Allier, very navigable. The streetes are faire ; the Castle has a noble prospect, and has been the seat of the Dukes. Here is a pretty parke and garden. After dinner came many who offered knives and cissars to sell, it being a towne famous for those trifles. This Dutchy of

Bourbon is ordinarily assigned for the dowry of the Queenes of France.

Hence we tooke horse for Varenne, an obscure village, where we lay that night. The next day we went somewhat out of y^e^ way to see the towne of Bourbon l'Archambaut, from whose antient and ragged castle is deriv'd the name of the present Royal Family of France. The castle stands on a flinty rock, overlooking the towne. In the midst of the streetes are some bathes of medicinal waters, some of them excessive hot, but nothing so neately wall'd & adorn'd as ours in Som'ersetshire; and indeede they are chiefly used to drinke off, our Queene being then lodged there for that purpose. After dinner I went to see the St. Chapel, a prime place of devotion, where is kept one of the thornes of our Saviour's crowne, & a piece of the real crosse; excellent paintings on glasse, and some few statues of stone and wood, which they shew for curiosities. Hence we went forward to La Palisse, a village that lodged us that night.

Sept. 26th. We arriv'd at Roanne, where we quitted our guide and tooke post for Lyons. Roanne seem'd to me one of the pleasantest and most agreeable places imaginable, for a retyred person: for, besides the situation on the Loire, there are excellent provisions cheape and abundant. It being late when we left this towne, we rode no farther than Tarrare that night (passing St. Saforin), a little desolate village in a vally neere a pleasant streame, encompass'd with fresh meadows and vineyards. The hills which we rod over before we descended, and afterwards on the Lyons side of this place, are high and mountainous; fir and pines growing frequently on them. The ayre methought was much alter'd, as well as the manner of the houses, which are built flatter, more after the Easterne manner.

Before I went to bed I tooke a landskip of this pleasant terrace. There follow'd a most violent tempest of thunder and lightning.

27th. We rod by Pont Charu to Lyons, which being but 6 leagues we soone accomplish'd, having made 85 leagues from Toures in seven dayes. Here at the Golden Lion, rue de Flandre, I met divers of my acquaintance who coming from Paris were design'd for Italy. We lost no time in seeing the citty, because of being ready to accompany these gentlemen in their journey. Lyons is excellently situated on the confluence of the rivers Soane and Rhodanus, which wash the walls of the citty in a very rapid streame; each of these has its bridg; that over the Rhone consists of 28 arches. The two high cliffs called St. Just and St. Sebastian are very stately; on one of them stands a strong fort, garrison'd. We vissited the cathedrall, St. Jean, where was one of the fairest clockes for art and buisy invention I had ever seene. The fabriq of the church is Gotic, as are likewise those of St. Estienne and St. Croix. From the top of one of the towers of St. Jean (for it has 4) we beheld the whole citty and country, with a prospect reaching to the Alpes, many leagues distant. The Archbishop's Palace is fairely built. The church of St. Niser is the greatest; that of the Jacobins is well built. Here are divers other fine churches and very noble buildings we had not time to visite, onely that of the Charité, or greate Hospital for poor infirm people, entertaining about 1500 soules, with a schoole, granary, gardens, and all conveniences, maintained at a wonderfull expence, worthy seeing. The place of the Belle Cour is very spacious, observable for the view it affords, so various and agreeable, of hills, rocks, vineyards, gardens, precipices, and other extravagant & incomparable advantages, presenting

themselves together. The Pall Mall is sett with faire trees. In fine, this stately, cleane, and noble citty built all of stone, abounds in persons of quality and rich merchants: those of Florence obtaining greate privileges above the rest. In the Towne-house they shew 2 tables of brass on w^{ch} is engraven Claudius's speech pronounced to the Senat concerning the franchising of the towne with the Roman privileges. There are also other antiquities.

Sept. 30th. We bargain'd with a waterman to carry us to Avignon on the river, and got the first night to Vienne in Dauphiné. This is an Archbishoprick, and the province gives title to the Heir Apparent of France. Here we supp'd and lay, having, amongst other dainties, a dish of trufles, which is a certaine earth nut, found out by an hogg train'd to it, and for which those animals are sold at a greate price.[1] It is in truth an incomparable meate. We were shew'd the ruines of an amphitheatre pretty entire; and many handsome palaces, especialy that of Pontius Pilate, not far from the towne, at the foote of a solitary mountaine neere the river, having 4 pinnacles. Here 'tis reported he passed his exile, and precipitated himselfe into the lake not far from it. The house is moderne, and seemes to be the seate of some gentleman, being in a very pleasant though melancholy place. The cathedral of Vienne is St. Maurice; and there are many other pretty buildings, but nothing more so than the mills where they hammer and polish the sword-blades.

Hence the next morning we swam (for the river here is so rapid that the boat was onely steered) to a small village called Tain, where we dyn'd. Over against this is another towne named Tournon, where

[1] In England they are found by dogs.

is a very strong castle under a high precipice. To the castle joynes the Jesuits Colledge, who have a fayre library. The prospect was so tempting that I could not forbeare designing it with my crayon.

We then came to Valence, a capital citty carrying the title of a Dutchy, but the Bishop is now sole lord temporal of it and the country about it. The towne having an University famous for the study of the civil law, is much frequented; but the churches are none of the fairest, having been greatly defaced in the time of the wars. The streets are full of pretty fountaines. The citadell is strong and garrison'd. Here we pass'd the night, and the next morning by Pont St. Esprit, which consists of 22 arches; in the piers of the arches are windoes as it were, to receive the water when it is high and full. Here we went on shore, it being very dangerous to passe the bridg in a boat.

Hence leaving our barg we tooke horse, seing at a distance the towne and principality of Orange, and lodging one night on the way we arriv'd at noone at Avignon. This towne has belonged to the Popes ever since the time of Clement VI. being in 1352 alienated by Jane Queen of Naples and Sicily. Entering the gates, the soldiers at the guard tooke our pistols and carbines and examin'd us very strictly; after that, having obtain'd the Governor's and the Vice-Legate's leave to tarry three days, we were civilly conducted to our lodging. The city is on the Rhone, and divided from the newer part or towne, which is on the other side of the river, by a very faire stone bridge (which has been broken); at one end is a very high rock, on which is a strong castle well furnish'd with artillery. The walls of the citty are of large square free-stone, the most neate and best in repaire I ever saw. It is full of well-built palaces; those of the Vice-Legate and Arch-

bishop being the most magnificent. There are many sumptuous churches, especialy that of St. Magdalene and St. Martial, wherein the tomb of the Cardinal d'Amboise is the most observable. Clement VI. lies buried in that of the Celestines, the altar whereof is exceeding rich : but for nothing I more admired it than the tomb of Madona Laura, the celebrated mistress of Petrarch. We saw the Arsenal, the Pope's Palace, and the Synagogue of the Jewes who here are distinguished by their red hats. Vaucluse, so much renowned for the solitude of Petrarch, we beheld from the castle, but could not go to visit it for want of time, being now taking mules and a guide for Marseilles.

We lay at Loumas ; the next morning came to Aix, having pass'd that extremely rapid and dangerous river of Durance. In this tract all the heathes or com'ons are cover'd with rosemary, lavender, lentiscs, and the like sweet shrubes, for many miles together, which to me was very pleasant. Aix is the chiefe citty of Provence, being a Parliament and Presidential Town, with other Royal Courts and Metropolitan jurisdiction. It is well built, the houses very high and the streetes ample. The Cathedrall, St. Saviour's, is a noble pile adorn'd with innumerable figures, especialy that of St. Michael ; the Baptisterie, the Palace, the Court, built in a most spacious piazza, are very faire. The Duke of Guise's house is worth seeing, being furnished with many antiquities in and about it. The Jesuites have here a Royal Colledge, and the City is an University.

Oct. 7th. We had a most delicious journey to Marseilles, thro' a country sweetely declining to the south and Mediterranean coasts, full of vineyards and olive-yards, orange trees, myrtils, pomegranads, and the like sweete plantations, to which belong pleas-

antly-situated villas to the number of above 1500 built all of freestone, and in prospect shewing as if they were so many heapes of snow dropp'd out of the clouds amongst those perennial greenes. It was almost at the shutting of the gates that we arrived. Marseilles is on the sea-coast, on a pleasant rising ground, well walled, with an excellent port for ships and gallys, secur'd by a huge chayne of yron drawn across the harbour at pleasure, and there is a well-fortified tower with 3 other forts, especially that built on a rock; but the castle commanding the city is that of Nostre Dame de la Guard. In the chapel hung up divers crocodiles skinns.

We went then to visite the gallys being about 25 in number; the Captaine of the Gally Royal gave us most courteous entertainement in his cabine, the slaves in the interim playing both loud and soft musiq very rarely. Then he shew'd us how he commanded their motions with a nod and his whistle, making them row out. The spectacle was to me new and strange, to see so many hundreds of miserably naked persons, their heads being shaven close and having onely high red bonnets, a payre of course canvas drawers, their whole backs and leggs naked, doubly chayn'd about their middle and leggs, in couples, and made fast to their seates, and all commanded in a trise by an imperious and cruel sea-man. One Turke amongst the rest he much favor'd, who waited on him in his cabin, but with no other dress than the rest, and a chayne lock'd about his leg but not coupled. This gally was richly carv'd and gilded, and most of the rest were very beautifull. After bestowing something on the slaves, the captain sent a band of them to give us musiq at dinner where we lodged. I was amaz'd to contemplate how these miserable catyfs lie in their gally crowded together, yet there was hardly one but had some occupation, by which, as leisure and calmes

permitted, they gat some little money, insomuch as some of them have, after many yeares of cruel servitude, been able to purchase their liberty. The rising forward and falling back at their oare is a miserable spectacle, and the noyse of their chaines with the roring of the beaten waters has something of strange and fearfull in it to one unaccustom'd to it. They are rul'd and chastiz'd by strokes on their backs and soles of theire feete on the least disorder, and without the least humanity; yet are they cheerful and full of knavery.

After dinner we saw the church of St. Victoire, where is that Saint's head in a shrine of silver which weighs 600 lb. Thence to Nostre Dame, exceedingly well built, which is the cathedrall. Thence to the Duke of Guyse's palace, the Palace of Justice, and the Maison du Roy; but nothing is more strange than the great number of slaves working in the streetes, and carrying burthens, with their confus'd noises and gingling of their huge chaynes. The chiefe trade of the towne is in silks and drougs out of Africa, Syria, and Egypt, and Barbary horses which are brought hither in great numbers. The towne is govern'd by foure Captaines, has three Consuls and one Assessor, three Judges Royal; the Merchants have a Judge for ordinary causes. Here we bought umbrellos against the heats, and consulted of our journey to Canes by land, for feare of the Pickaron Turkes, who make prize of many small vessels about these parts, we not finding a gally bound for Genoa, whither we were design'd.

Oct. 9th. We tooke mules, passing the first night very late in sight of St. Baume, and the solitary grott where they affirme Mary Magdalen did her pennance. The next day we lay at Perigeux, a citty built on an old foundation; witnesse the ruines of a most stately amphitheater which I went out to design, being about

a flight shoote from the towne; they call it now the Rolsies. There is also a strong towre neere the towne call'd the Visone, but the towne and citty are at some distance from each other. It is a bishoprick; has a cathedral; with divers noblemen's houses in sight of the sea. The place was formerly call'd Forum Julij, well known by antiquaries.

Oct. 10th. We proceeded by the ruines of a stately aqueduct. The soile about the country is rocky, full of pines and rare simples.

11th. We lay at Canes, which is a small port on the Mediterranean; here we agreed with a seaman to carry us to Genoa, and having procur'd a bill of health (without which there is no admission at any towne in Italy,) we embarq'd on the 12th. We touched at the islands of St. Margaret and St. Honore, lately retaken from the Spanyards with great bravery by Prince Harcourt. Here, having payd some small duty, we bought some trifles offer'd us by the souldiers, but without going on shore. Hence we coasted within 2 leagues of Antibes, which is the utmost towne in France. Thence by Nice, a citty in Savoy built all of brick which gives it a very pleasant appearance towards the sea, having a very high castle which commands it. We sailed by Morgus, now cal'd Monaco, having passed Villa Franca, heretofore Portus Herculis, when, ariving after the gates were shut, we were forc'd to abide all night in the barg which was put into the haven the wind coming contrary. In the morning we were hastned away, having no time permitted us by our avaricious master to go up and see this strong and considerable place, which now belongs to a Prince of the family of Grimaldi, of Genoa, who has put both it and himself under the protection of the French. The situation is on a promontory of solid stone and rock. The towne walls very fayre. We were told that within it was

an ample court, and a palace, furnish'd with the most rich and princely moveables, and a collection of statues, pictures, and massie plate to an immense amount.

We sailed by Menton and Vintimiglia, being the first citty of the Republiq of Genoa; supp'd at Oneglia, where we anker'd and lay on shore. The next morning we coasted in view of the Isle of Corsica and St. Remo, where the shore is furnish'd with evergreens, oranges, citrons, and date-trees; we lay at Port Mauritio. The next morning by Diano, Araisso, famous for the best corrall fishing, growing in aboundance on the rocks, deepe and continualy covered by the sea. By Albenga and Finale a very faire and strong towne belonging to the King of Spayne, for which reason a Monsieur in our vessell was extreamely afraide, as was the patron of our barke, for they frequently catch French prizes as they creepe by these shores to go into Italy; he therefore ply'd both sayles and oars to get under the protection of a Genoese gally that pass'd not far before us, and in whose company we sayl'd as far as the Cape of Savona, a towne built at the rise of the Apennines; for all this coast (except a little at St. Remo) is an high and steepe mountainous ground consisting all of rock marble, without any grasse, tree, or rivage, formidable to looke on. A strange object it is to consider how some poore cottages stand fast on the declivities of these precipices, and by what steps the inhabitants ascend to them. The rock consists of all sorts of the most precious marbles.

Here, on the 15th, forsaking our gally we encounter'd a little foule weather, which made us creepe *terra, terra*, as they call it, and so a vessell that encounter'd us advised us to do; but our patron, striving to double the point of Savona, making out into the wind put us into great hazard, for blowing very

hard from land betwixt those horrid gapps of the mountaines, it set so violently as rais'd on the sudden so greate a sea that we could not recover the weather-shore for many houres, insomuch that, what with the water already enter'd, and the confusion of fearful passengers, (of which one who was an Irish Bishop, and his brother, a priest, were confessing some as at the article of death,) we were almost abandon'd to despaire, our pilot himselfe giving us up for lost. And now, as we were weary with pumping and laving out the water, almost sinking, it pleas'd God on the suddaine to appease the wind, and with much ado and greate perill we recover'd the shore, which we now kept in view within halfe a league in sight of those pleasant villas, and within scent of those fragrant orchards w^ch^ are on this coast, full of princely retirements for the sumptuousnesse of their buildings and noblenesse of the plantations, especially those at St. Pietro d'Arena, from whence the wind blowing as it did might perfectly be smelt the peculiar joys of Italy in the perfumes of orange, citron, and jassmine flowers for divers leagues seaward.[1]

Oct. 16th. We got to anker under the Pharos, or watch-tower, built on a high rock at the mouth of the Mole of Genoa, the weather being still so fowle, that for two houres at least we durst not stand into the haven. Towards evening we adventured, and came on shore by the Prattiq-house, where, after strict examination by the Syndics, we were had to the Ducal Palace, and there our names being taken, we were conducted to our inne kept by one Zacharias an Englishman. I shall never forget a story of our

[1] Mr. Evelyn was so struck with this circumstance of the fragrancy of the air of this coast, that he has noticed it again in his dedication of the "Fumifugium" to King Charles the Second.

host Zachary, who on the relation of our perill told us another of his owne, being shipwreck'd, as he affirm'd solemnly, in the middle of a greate sea somewhere in the West Indies, that he swam no lesse than 22 leagues to another iland, with a tinder-box wraped up in his hayre, which was not so much as wett all the way; that picking up the carpenter's tooles with other provisions in a chest, he and the carpenter, who accompany'd him, (good swimers it seemes both) floated the chest before them, and arriving at last in a place full of wood they built another vessell and so escaped. After this story we no more talked of our danger, Zachary put us quite downe.

17th. Accompany'd by a most courteous marchand call'd Tomson we went to view the rarities. The citty is built in the hollow or bosom of a mountaine, whose ascent is very steepe, high, and rocky, so that, from the Lantern and Mole to the hill, it represents the shape of a theater; the streetes and buildings so ranged one above another as our seates are in play-houses; but, from their materials, beauty, and structure, never was an artificial scene more beautifull to the eye, nor is any place, for the size of it, so full of well-design'd and stately palaces, as may be easily concluded by that rare booke in a large folio which the great virtuoso and paynter Paule Rubens has publish'd, tho' it contains [the description of] only one streete and 2 or 3 churches.

The first palace we went to visit was that of Hieronymo del Negros, to which we pass'd by boate crosse the harbour. Here I could not but observe the suddaine and develish passion of a sea-man, who plying us was intercepted by another fellow that interpos'd his boate before him and tooke us in; for the teares gushing out of his eyes, he put his finger in his mouth and almost bit it off by the joynt, shew-

ing it to his antagonist as an assurance to him of some bloody revenge if ever he came neere that part of the harbour again. Indeed this beautifull citty is more stayn'd with such horrid acts of revenge and murthers than any one place in Europ, or haply in the world, where there is a political government, which makes it unsafe to strangers. It is made a gally matter to carry a knife whose poynt is not broken off.

This palace of Negros is richly furnish'd with the rarest pictures; on the terrace, or hilly garden, there is a grove of stately trees, amongst which are sheepe, shepherds, and wild beasts, cut very artificially in a grey stone; fountaines, rocks, and fish-ponds: casting your eyes one way, you would imagine yourselfe in a wildernesse and silent country; sideways, in the heart of a greate citty; and backwards, in the middst of the sea. All this is within one acre of ground. In the house I noticed those red-plaster flores which are made so hard, and kept so polished, that for some time one would take them for whole pieces of porphyrie. I have frequently wonder'd that we never practic'd this in England for cabinets and roomes of state,[1] for it appears to me beyond any invention of that kind; but by their carefull covering them with canvas and fine mattresses, where there is much passage, I suppose they are not lasting in their glory, and haply they are often repaired.

There are numerous other palaces of particular curiositys, for the marchands being very rich have, like our neighbours the Hollanders, little or no extent of ground to employ their estates in: as those in pictures and hangings, so these lay it out on marble houses and rich furniture. One of the greatest here for circuit is that of the Prince d'Orias, which reaches

[1] There are such at Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire, a seat of the Duke of Devonshire.

from the sea to the sum'it of the mountaines. The house is most magnificently built without, nor less gloriously furnish'd within, having whole tables[1] and bedsteads of massy silver, many of them sett with achates, onyxes, cornelians, lazulis, pearls, turquizes, and other precious stones. The pictures and statues are innumerable. To this palace belong three gardens, the first whereof is beautified with a terrace, supported by pillars of marble: there is a fountaine of eagles, and one of Neptune with other sea-gods, all of the purest white marble; they stand in a most ample basine of the same stone. At the side of this garden is such an aviary as S^r^ Fra. Bacon describes in his *Sermones fidelium*, or Essays, wherein grow trees of more than two foote diameter, besides cypresse, myrtils, lentiscs, and other rare shrubs, which serve to nestle and pearch all sorts of birds who have ayre and place enough under their ayrie canopy, supported with huge iron worke stupendious for its fabrick and the charge. The other two gardens are full of orange-trees, citrons, and pomegranads, fountaines, grotts, and statues; one of the latter is a colossal Jupiter, under which is the sepulchre of a beloved dog, for the care of which one of this family receiv'd of the K. of Spayne 500 crownes a yeare during the life of that faithfull animal. The reservoir of water here is a most admirable piece of art; and so is the grotto over against it.

We went hence to the Palace of the Dukes, where is also the Court of Justice; thence to the Marchants Walke, rarely covered. Neere[2] the Ducal Palace we saw the publiq armoury, which was almost all new, most neatly kept and order'd, sufficient for 30,000 men. We were shew'd many rare inventions

[1] One of which, Lassells says, weighed 24,000 lbs. "Voyage through Italy," 1670, p. 94.

[2] Lassells says, in the Palace.

Geremia fc.

Sr Francis Bacon.

and engines of warr peculiar to that armory, as in the state where gunns were first put in use. The garrison of the towne chiefly consists of Germans and Corsicans. The famous Strada Nova, built wholly of polish'd marble, was design'd by Rubens, and for statelinesse of the buildings, paving, and evennesse of the streete, is far superior to any in Europ, for the number of houses; that of Don Carlo d'Orias is a most magnificent structure. In the gardens of the old Marques Spinola I saw huge citrons hanging on the trees, apply'd like our apricots to the walls. The churches are no less splendid than the palaces: that of St. Francis is wholly built of Parian marble; St. Lawrence, in the middle of the city, of white and black polish'd stone, the inside wholly incrusted with marble and other precious materials; on the altar of St. John stand 4 sumptuous columns of porphyry; and here we were shew'd an emerald supposed to be one of the largest in the world.[1] The church of St. Ambrosio belonging to the Jesuites, will, when finish'd, exceede all the rest, and that of the Annunciada, founded at the charges of one family,[2] in the present and future designe can never be outdone for cost and art. From the churches we walked to the Mole, a worke of solid huge stone, stretching itselfe neere 600 paces into the main sea, and secures the harbour, heretofore of no safety. Of all the wonders of Italy, for the art and nature of the designe, nothing parallels this.[3] We pass'd over to the Pharos, or Lantern, a

[1] Lassells calls it a great dish, in which they say here that our Saviour ate the Paschal Lamb with his Disciples; but he adds that he finds no authority for it in any ancient writer, and that Venerable Bede writes that the dish used by our Saviour was of silver. Of an authentic relic of St. John he observes that Baronius writes credibly.

[2] Two brothers, named Lomellini, allow the third part of their gains. Lassells.

[3] The Break-water at Plymouth is at least as stupendous a work

towre of very greate height. Here we tooke horses and made the circuit of the citty as far as the new walles, built of a prodigious height, and with Herculean industry; witnesse those vast pieces of whole mountaines which they have hewn away, and blowne up with gunpowder, to render them steepe and inaccessible. They are not much lesse than[1] 20 English miles in extent, reaching beyond the utmost buildings of the city. From one of these promontories we could easily discern the island of Corsica; and from the same, eastward, we saw a vale having a great torrent running thro' a most desolate barren country; and then turning our eyes more northward, saw those delicious villas of St. Pietro d'Arena, which present another Genoa to you, the ravishing retirements of the Genoese nobility. Hence, with much paine, we descended towards the Arsenale, where the gallys lie in excellent order.

The inhabitants of this city are much affected to the Spanish mode and stately garbe.[2] From the narrowness of the streetes they use sedans and litters, and not coaches.

Oct. 19th. We embarqued in a filuca for Ligorne [Leghorn], but the sea running very high we put in at Porto Venere, which we made with peril, between two narrow horrid rocks, against which the sea dashed with great velocity; but we were soone delivered

[1] Lassells says, finished in 18 months, and yet six miles in compass. P. 83.

[2] Thus described by Lassells: "broad hats without hat-bands, broad leather girdles with steel buckles, narrow britches, with long-waisted doublets and hanging sleeves. The great ladies go in guard infanta's (child preservers); that is, in horrible overgrown vertigals of whalebone, which being put about the waiste of the lady, and full as broad on both sides as she can reach with her hands, bear out her coats in such a manner that she appears to be as broad as long. The men look like tumblers that leap thro' hoops, and the women like those that anciently danced the hobby-horse in country mummings." P. 96.

into as great a calme and a most ample harbor, being in the Golpho di Spetia. From hence we could see Pliny's Delphini Promontorium, now call'd Cap fino. Here stood that famous city of Luna, whence the port was named Lunaris, being about 2 leagues over, more resembling a lake than an haven, but defended by castles and excessive high mountaines. We landed at Lerici, where, being Sonday, was a great procession, carrying the Sacrament about the streetes in solemn devotion. After dinner we took post horses, passing through whole groves of olive-trees, the way somewhat rugged and hilly at first, but afterwards pleasant. Thus we passed through the townes of Sarzano and Massa, and the vast marble quarries of Carrara, and lodged in an obscure inn at a place called Viregio. The next morning we arrived at Pisa, where I met my old friend Mr. Tho^{s} Henshaw, who was then newly come out of Spaine, and from whose company I never parted till more than a yeare after.

The city of Pisa is as much worth seeing as any in Italy; it has contended with Rome, Florence, Sardinia, Sicily, and even Carthage. The palace and church of St. Stephano (where the order of knighthood called by that name was instituted) drew first our curiosity, the outside thereof being altogether of polish'd marble; within it is full of tables relating to this order; over which hang divers banners and pendents, with other trophies taken by them from the Turkes, against whom they are particularly oblig'd to fight; tho' a religious order, they are permitted to marry. At the front of the palace stands a fountaine, and the statue of the greate Duke Cosmo. The Campanile, or Settezonio, built by John Venipont, a German, consists of several orders of pillars, 30 in a row, design'd to be much higher. It stands alone on the right side of the cathedrall, strangely re-

markable for this, that the beholder would expect it to fall, being built exceedingly declining,[1] by a rare addresse of the architect; and how it is supported from falling I think would puzzle a good geometrician. The Domo, or Cathedrall, standing neere it, is a superb structure, beautified with 6 columns of greate antiquity; the gates are of brasse, of admirable workmanship. The cemetere cal'd Campo Santo is made of divers gally ladings of earth formerly brought from Jerusalem, said to be of such a nature as to consume dead bodies in fourty hours. 'Tis cloistred with marble arches; and here lies buried the learned Philip Decius who taught in this University. At one side of this church stands an ample and well-wrought marble vessell, which heretofore contain'd the tribute paid yearly by the citty to Cæsar. It is plac'd, as I remember, on a pillar of opile stone, with divers other antiq urnes. Neere this, and in the same field, is the Baptistery of San Giovanni, built of pure white marble and cover'd with so artificial a cupola that the voice uttered under it seemes to breake out of a cloud. The font and pulpit, supported by 4 lyons, is of inestimable value for the preciousnesse of the materials. The place where these buildings stand they call the Area. Hence we went to the Colledge, to which joynes a gallery so furnish'd with natural rarities, stones, minerals, shells, dry'd animals, skeletons, &c. as is hardly to be seen in Italy. To this the Physiq Garden lies, where is a noble palm-tree and very fine water-workes. The river Arno runs through the middle of this stately citye, whence the streete is named Lung 'Arno. It is so ample that the Duke's gallys, built in the arsenal here, are easily conveyed to Livorno; over the river is an arch, the like of which, for its flatness, and serving for a bridge, is no

[1] See of such a one at Florence, p. 106.

where in Europ. The Duke has a stately palace, before which is placed the statue of Ferdinand the Third; over against it is the Exchange, built of marble. Since this citty came to be under the Dukes of Tuscany it has been much depopulated, tho' there is hardly in Italy any w^ch^ exceeds it for stately edifices. The situation of it is low and flat, but the inhabitants have spacious gardens and even fields within the walls.

Oct. 21st. We tooke coach to Livorno, thro' the Great Duke's new parke full of huge corke-trees, the underwood all myrtils, amongst which were many buffaloes feeding, a kind of wild ox, short-nos'd, with hornes revers'd; those who worke with them co'mand them as our beare-wards do the beares, with a ring through the nose, and a cord. Much of this parke, as well as a greate part of the country about it, is very fenny, and the ayre very bad.

Legorne is the prime port belonging to all the Duke's territories; heretofore a very obscure towne, but since Duke Ferdinand has strongly fortified it (after the moderne way), drain'd the marshes by cutting a channell thence to Pisa navigable 16 miles, and has rais'd a Mole, emulating that at Genoa, to secure the shipping, it is become a place of great receipt; it has also a place for the gallys where they lye safe. Before the sea is an ample piazza for the market, where are the statues in copper of the fower slaves, much exceeding the life for proportion, and, in the judgment of most artists, one of the best pieces of modern worke.[1] Here, especialy in this piazza, is such a concourse of slaves, Turkes, Mores, and other nations, that the number and confusion is prodigious; some buying, others selling, others drinking, others playing, some working, others sleeping, fighting,

[1] They had attempted to steal a galley, meaning to have rowed it themselves, but were taken in this great enterprise. Lassells p. 233.

singing, weeping, all nearly naked, and miserably chayn'd. Here was a tent, where any idle fellow might stake his liberty against a few crownes, at dice or other hazard, and, if he lost, he was immediately chayn'd and led away to the gallys, where he was to serve a tearm of years, but from whence they seldom return'd: many sottish persons in a drunken bravado would try their fortune in this way.

The houses of this neate towne are very uniforme, and excellently paynted *a fresca* on the outer walls with representations of many of their victories over the Turkes. The houses, though low on account of the earthquakes w^ch^ frequently happen here, (as did one during my being in Italy) are very well built; the piazza is very fayre and com'odious, and with the church, whose 4 columns at the portico are of black marble polish'd, gave the first hint to the building both of the church and piazza in Covent Garden with us, tho' very imperfectly pursu'd.

Oct. 22nd. From Livorno I took coach to Empoly, where we lay, and the next day arriv'd at Florence, being recommended to the house of Sig. Baritiere, in the Piazza dal Spirito Santo, where we were exceedingly well treated. Florence is at the foot of the Appenines, the west part full of stately groves and pleasant meadows, beautified with more than a thousand houses and country palaces of note, belonging to gentlemen of the towne. The river Arno runs through this citty, in a broad but very shallow channell, dividing it, as it were, in the middle, and over it are foure most sumptuous bridges of stone. On that nearest to our quarter are the 4 Seasons in white marble; on another are the goldsmiths shops; at the head of the former stands a column of opite, upon which a statue of Justice with her balance and sword, cut out of porphyrie, and the more remarkable for being the first which had been carved out of that

hard material, and brought to perfection after the art had been utterly lost; they say this was done by hardening the tools in the juice of certaine herbes. This statue was erected in that corner, because there Cosmo was first saluted with the newes of Sienna being taken.

Neere this is the famous Palazzo di Strozzi, a princely piece of architecture, in a rustiq manner. The palace of Pitti was built by that family, but of late greatly beautified by Cosmo with huge square stones of the Doric, Ionic, and the Corinthian orders, with a terrace at each side having rustic uncut balustrades, with a fountain that ends in a cascade seen from the great gate, and so forming a vista to the gardens. Nothing is more admirable than the vacant stayre-case, marbles, statues, urnes, pictures, courte, grotto, and waterworkes. In the quadrangle is a huge jetto of water in a volto of 4 faces, with noble statues at each square, especialy the Diana of porphyrie above the grotto. We were here shew'd a prodigious greate load-stone.

The garden has every variety, hills, dales, rocks, groves, aviaries, vivaries, fountaines, especialy one of five jettos, the middle basin being one of the longest stones I ever saw. Here is every thing to make such a paradise delightfull. In the garden I saw a rose grafted on an orange-tree. There was much topiary worke, and columns in architecture about the hedges. The Duke has added an ample laboratorye, over against which stands a fort on a hill where they told us his treasure is kept. In this palace the Duke ordinarily resides, living with his Swisse guards after the frugal Italian way, and even selling what he can spare of his wines, at the cellar under his very house, wicker bottles dangling over even the chiefe entrance into the palace, serving for a vintner's bush.

In the church of S^to^ Spirito the altar and reliquary are most rich, and full of precious stones; there are 4 pillars of a kind of serpentine, and some of blue. Hence we went to another palace of the Duke's, called Palazzo Vecchio, before which is a statue of David by Michael Angelo, and one of Hercules killing Cacus, the worke of Baccio Bandinelli. The quadrangle about this is of the Corinthian order, and in the hall are many rare marbles, as those of Leo the Tenth and Clement VII. both Popes of the Medicean family; also the acts of Cosmo in rare painting. In the chapell is kept (as they would make one believe) the original Gospel of St. John, written with his owne hand; and the famous Florentine Pandects, and divers precious stones. Neere it is another pendant towre like that at Pisa, always threatening ruine.

Under the Court of Justice is a stately arcade for men to walke in, and over that, the shops of divers rare artists who continualy worke for the greate Duke. Above this is that renowned Ceimeliarcha, or Repository, wherein are hundreds of admirable antiquities, statues of marble and mettal, vasas of porphyrie, &c.; but amongst the statues none so famous as the Scipio, the Boare, the Idol of Apollo brought from the Delphic Temple, and two triumphant columnes. Over these hang the pictures of the most famous persons and illustrious men in arts or armes, to the number of 300, taken out of the museum of Paulus Jovius. They then led us into a large square roome in the middle of which stood a cabinet of an octangular forme, so adorn'd and furnish'd with christals, achat, and sculptures, as exceeds any description. This cabinet is called the Tribuna, and in it is a pearl as big as a haizel nut.[1] The

[1] Sir Gore Ouseley brought from Persia a picture of the Khan, which in 1816 was in his house in Bruton-street, on whose dress

LEO X. P. M.

Engraved by Moses Haughton after an original Picture by Raffaello late in the collection of Robert Udny Esqr.

cabinet is of ebonie, lazuli, and jasper; over the door is a round of M. Angelo; on the cabinet, Leo the Tenth, with other paintings of Raphael, del Sarto, Perugino, and Coreggio, viz. a St. John, a Virgin, a Boy, 2 Apostles, 2 heads of Durer, rarely carved. Over this cabinet is a globe of ivory, excellently carved; the Labours of Hercules in massy silver, and many incomparable pictures in small. There is another, which had about it 8 Oriental columns of alabaster, on each whereof was placed a head of a Cæsar, cover'd with a canopy so richly set with precious stones that they resembled a firmament of starrs. Within it was our Saviour's Passion and 12 Apostles in amber. This cabinet was valued at two hundred thousand crownes. In another, with calcidon pillars, was a series of golden medaills. Here is also another rich ebony cabinet cupola'd with a tortoise-shell, and containing a collection of gold medails esteem'd worth 50,000 crownes; a wreathed pillar of Oriental alabaster, divers paintings of Da Vinci, Pontorno, del Sarto, an Ecce Homo of Titian, a Boy of Bronzini, &c. They shew'd us a branch of corall fix'd on the rock which they affirme dos still grow. In another roome is kept the Tabernacle appointed for the chapel of St. Lawrence, about which are placed small statues of Saints, of precious materials; a piece of such art and cost, that, having been these 40 years in perfecting, it is one of the most curious things in the world. Here were divers tables of Pietro Comessa, which is a marble ground inlay'd with severall sorts of marbles and stones of various colours, representing flowers, trees, beasts, birds, and landskips. In one is represented the towne of Ligorne by the same hand who inlay'd the altar of St. Lawrence, Domenico Benotti, of whom I

are represented pearls of such a size as to make the one here spoken of very insignificant.

purchased 19 pieces of the same worke for a cabinet. In a presse neere this they shew'd an yron naile, one halfe whereof being converted into gold by one Thurnheuser, a German chymist, is look'd on a greate rarity, but it plainly appeared to have been soldered together. There is a curious watch, a monstrous turquoise as big as an egg, on which is carved an emperor's head.

In the armory are kept many antiq habits, as those of Chinese kings; the sword of Charlemain; Hannibal's head-piece; a loadstone of a yard long, which bears up 86 lbs. weight, in a chaine of 17 links, such as the slaves are tied to. In another roome are such rare tourneries in ivory as are not to be described for their curiosity. There is a faire pillar of Oriental alabaster; 12 vast and compleate services of silver plate, and one of gold, all of excellent workmanship; a rich embrodred saddle of pearles sent by the Emperor to this Duke: and here is that embrodred chaire set with precious stones in which he sits, when, on St. John's day, he receives the tribute of the citties.

Oct. 25th. We went to the Portico where the famous statues of Judith and Holofernes stand, also the Medusa, all of copper; but what is most admirable is the Rape of a Sabine with another man under foot, the confusion and turning of whose limbs is most admirable. It is of one entire marble, the worke of John di Bologna, and is most stupendous; this stands directly against the greate piazza, where, to adorne one fountaine, are erected four marble statues and eight of brasse, representing Neptune and his family of sea-gods, of a Colossean magnitude, with four sea-horses in Parian marble of Lamedrati, in the midst of a very great basin; a work, I think, hardly to be parallel'd. Here is also the famous statue of David by M. Angelo; Hercules and Cacus

Cosmo de' Medici with his Son Piero and his Grandsons, Lorenzo and Giuliano,
from a Picture of Francesco Peselli, in the Liverpool Royal Institution

by Baccio Bandinelli; the Perseus in copper by Benevento, and the Judith of Donatelli, w^ch^ stand publickly before the old palace with the Centaur of Bologna, huge Colossean figures. Neere this stand Cosmo di Medici on horseback, in brasse on a pedistal of marble, and four copper bass relievos by John di Bologna, with divers inscriptions; the Ferdinand the First on horseback is of Peitro Tacca. The brazen boare, which serves for another publiq fountaine, is admirable.

After dinner we went to the church of the Annunciata, where the Duke and his court were at their devotions, being a place of extraordinary repute for sanctity: for here is a shrine that dos greate miracles, [proved] by innumerable votive tablets, &c. covering almost the walles of the whole church. This is the image of Gabriel who saluted the Bl. Virgin, and which the artist finish'd so well that he was in despaire of performing the Virgin's face so well, whereupon it was miraculously don for him whilst he slept; but others say it was painted by St. Luke himselfe. Whoever it was, infinite is the devotion of both sexes to it. The altar is set off with four columns of oriental alabaster, and lighted by thirty greate silver lamps. There are innumerable other pictures by rare masters. Our Saviour's Passion in brasse tables inserted in marble is the worke of John di Bologna and Baccio Bandinelli.

To this church joynes a convent whose cloister is painted in *fresca* very rarely. There is also neere it an hospital for 1000 persons, with nurse children, and several other charitable accom'odations.

At the Duke's Cavalerizzo, the Prince has a stable of the finest horses of all countries, Arabs, Turks, Barbs, Gennets, English, &c. which are continualy exercis'd in the *manège*.

Nere this is a place where are kept several wild

beasts, as wolves, catts, beares, tygers, and lions. They are loose in a deep wall'd court, and therefore to be seene with more pleasure than at the Tower of London, in their grates. One of the lions leaped to a surprising height to catch a joynt of mutton which I caused to be hung downe.

[1] There are many playne brick towers erected for defence when this was a free state. The highest is called the Mangio, standing at the foote of the piazza which we went first to see after our arrival. At the entrance of this tower is a chapel open towards the piazza, of marble well adorn'd with sculpture.

On the other side is the Signoria, or Court of Justice, well built *a la moderna* of brick; indeed the bricks of Sienna are so well made that they look almost as well as porphyrie itselfe, having a kind of natural polish.

In the Senate House is a very faire hall where they sometimes entertaine the people with publiq shews and operas as they call them. Towards the left are the statues of Romulus and Rhemus with the wolf, all of brasse, plac'd on a columne of ophite stone which they report was brought from the renowned Ephesian Temple. These ensignes being the armes of the towne, are set up in divers of the streetes and publiq wayes both within and far without the citty.

The piazza compasses the faciata of the court and chapel, and, being made with descending steps, much resembles the figure of an escalop shell. The white ranges of pavement intermix'd with the excellent bricks above mentioned, with which the towne is generally well paved, render it very cleane. About this market-place (for so it is) are many faire palaces, though not built with excesse of elegance. There stands an arch, the worke of Baltazar di Sienna, built

[1] There seems to be an omission in the MS. as to their leaving Florence and going to Sienna.

with wonderfull ingenuity so that it is not easy to conceive how it is supported, yet it has some imperceptible contignations w^ch^ do not betray themselves easily to the eye. On the edge of the piazza is a goodly fountaine beautified with statues, the water issuing out of the wolves mouths, being the worke of Jacobo Quercei, a famous artist. There are divers other publiq fountaines in the citty, of good designe.

After this we walked to the Sapienza, which is the University, or rather Colledg, where the high Germans enjoy many particular priviledges when they addict themselves to the civil law : and indeede this place has produced many excellent scholars, besides those three Popes, Alexander, Pius the II^nd^, and the III^d^ of that name, the learned Æneas Sylvius, and both were of the antient house of the Piccolomini.

The chiefe streete is called Strada Romana, in which Pius the II^d^ has built a most stately palace of square stone with an incomparable portico joyning neere to it. The towne is com'anded by a castle which hath four bastions and a garison of souldiers. Neere it is a list to ride horses in, much frequented by the gallants in summer.

Not far from hence is the church and convent of the Dominicans, where in the chapel of St. Catherine of Sienna they shew her head, the rest of her body being translated to Rome. The Domo or Cathedral, both without and within, is of large square stones of black and white marble polish'd, of inexpressible beauty, as is the front adorn'd with sculpture and rare statues. In the middle is a stately cupola and two columns of sundry streaked colour'd marble. About the body of the church, on a cornice within, are inserted the heads of all the Popes. The pulpit is beautified with marble figures, a piece of exquisite

worke; but what exceeds all description is the pavement, where (besides the various emblemes and other figures in the nave) the quire is wrought with the history of the Bible, so artificialy express'd in the natural colours of the marbles that few pictures exceede it. Here stands a Christo rarely cut in marble, and on the large high altar is a brasen vessell of admirable invention and art. The organs are exceeding sweete and well tun'd. On the left side of the altar is the library, where are painted the acts of Æneas Sylvius and others by Raphael. They shew'd us an arme of St. John the Baptist wherewith, they say, he baptized our Saviour in Jordan; it was given by the King of Peloponesus to one of the Popes, as an inscription testifies. They have also St. Peter's sword with which he smote off the ear of Malchus.

Just against the cathedral we went into the Hospital, where they entertain and refresh for three or four dayes, gratis, such pilgrimes as go to Rome. In the chapel belonging to it lies the body of St. Susorius their founder, as yet uncorrupted though dead many hundreds of yeares. They shew one of the nailes which pierced our Saviour, and St. Chrysostom's Comment on the Gospel written by his owne hand. Below the hill stands the pool called Fonte Brande, where fish are fed for pleasure more than foode.

St. Francis's church is a large pile, neere which, yet a little without the citty, growes a tree which they report in their legend grew from the Saint's staff which on going to sleepe he fix'd in the ground, and at his waking found it had grown a large tree. They affirme that the wood of it in decoction cures sundry diseases.

Nov. 2nd. We went from Sienna, desirous of being present at the calvacade of the new Pope

Innocent X.[1] who had not yet made the grand procession to St. John de Laterano. We set out by Porto Romano, the country all about the towne being rare for hunting and game. Wild boare and venison are frequently sold in the shops in many of the townes about it. We pass'd neere Mont Oliveto where the monastrie of that order is pleasantly situated and worth seeing. Passing over a bridg, which, by the inscription, appears to have been built by Prince Matthias, we went through Buon-Convento famous for the death of the Emperor Hen. VII. who was here poison'd by the holy Eucharist. Thence we came to Tornieri where we din'd. This village is in a sweete vally in view of Montalcino, famous for the rare Muscatello.[2] After three miles more we go by St. Querico, and lay at a privat osteria neere it, where, after we were provided of lodging came in Cardinal Donghi, a Genoese by birth, now come from Rome; he was so civil as to entertaine us with greate respect, hearing we were English, for that, he told us he had been once in our country. Amongst other discourse he related how a dove had been seen to sit on the chayre in the Conclave at the election of Pope Innocent, which he magnified as a great good omen, with other particulars which we enquir'd of him, till our suppers parted us. He came in great state with his owne bedstead and all the furniture, yet would by no meanes suffer us to resigne the room we had taken up in the lodging before his arrival. Next morning we rod by Monte Pientio, or, as vulgarly called, Monte Mantumiato, which is of an excessive height, ever and anon peeping above any clowds with its snowy head, till we had climbed to the inn at Radicofana, built by

[1] John Baptista Pamphili, chosen Pope in October 1644, died in 1655.

[2] A wine.

Ferdinand the great Duke, for the necessary refreshment of travellers in so inhospitable a place. As we ascended we entered a very thick, solid, and dark body of clowds, looking like rocks at a little distance, which lasted neare a mile in going up; they were dry misty vapours, hanging undissolved for a vast thicknesse, and obscuring both the sun and earth so that we seemed to be in the sea rather than in the cloudes, till, having pierced through it we came into a most serene heaven, as if we had been above all human conversation, the mountaine appearing more like a greate island than joyn'd to any other hills, for we could perceive nothing but a sea of thick clouds rowling under our feete like huge waves, ever now and then suffering the top of some other mountaine to peepe through, which we could discover many miles off; and betweene some breaches of the clouds we could see landskips and villages of the subjacent country. This was one of the most pleasant, newe, and altogether surprizing objects that I had ever beheld.

On the sum'it of this horrid rock (for so it is) is built a very strong fort, garrison'd, and somewhat beneath it is a small towne; the provisions are drawne up with ropes and engines, the precipice being otherwise inaccessable. At one end of the towne lie heapes of rocks so strangely broaken off from the ragged mountaine as would affright one with their horror and menacing postures. Just opposite to the inn gushed out a plentifull and most useful fountaine which falls into a great trough of stone, bearing the Duke of Tuscany's armes. Here we din'd, and I with my black lead pen tooke the prospect.[1] It is one of the utmost confines of the Etrurian State towards St. Peter's Patrimony since the gift of Matilda to Gregory 7, as is pretended.

[1] An etching of it, with others, is in the library at Wotton.

Here we passe a stone bridge built by Pope Gregory XIV. and thence immediately to Aquapendente,[1] a towne situated on a very ragged rock, down which precipitates an intire river, which gives it the denomination, with a most horrid roaring noise. We lay at the post-house, on which is this inscription :

> " L'Insegna della Posta, é posta a posta,
> In questa posta, fin che habbia à sua posta
> Ogn' un Cavallo a Vetturi in Posta."

Before it was darke we went to see the monastery of the Franciscans, famous for 6 learned Popes and sundry other great scholars, especialy the renowned physician and anatomist Fabricius de Aquapendente, who was bred and borne there.

Nov. 4th. After a little riding we descend towards the Lake of Bolsena, which being above 20 miles in circuit yields from hence a most incomparable prospect. Neere the middle of it are 2 small ilands, in one of which is a convent of melancholy Capucines, where those of the Farnesian family are interred. Pliny calls it *Tarquiniensis Lacus*, and talks of divers floting ilands about it, but they did not appear to us. The lake is environ'd with mountaines, at one of whose sides we pass'd towards the towne Bolsena, antiently Vulsinium, famous in those times, as is testified by divers rare sculptures in the court of St. Christiana's church, the urne, altar, and jasper columns.

After 7 miles riding, passing thro' a wood heretofore sacred to Juno, we came to Montefiascone, the head of the Falisci, a famous people in old tyme, and heretofore Falernum, as renowned for its excellent wine, as now for the story of the Dutch

[1] 12 miles from the Duke's inn, according to Lassells.

Bishop, who lyes buried in Faviano's church with this epitaph :

"Propter Est, Est, dominus meus mortuus est."

Because having ordered his servant to ride before, and enquire where the best wine was, and there write *Est*, the man found some so good that he wrote *Est, Est,* upon the vessells, and the Bishop drinking too much of it died.

From Montefiascone we travell a plain and pleasant champain to Viterbo, which presents itselfe with much state afarr off, in reguard of her many lofty pinnacles and toweres ; neither dos it deceive our expectation, for it is exceedingly beautified with publiq fountaines, especialy that at the entrance, which is all of brasse and adorn'd with many rare figures, and salutes the passenger with a most agreeable object and refreshing waters. There are many Popes buried in this citty, and in the palace is this odd inscription :

"Osiridis victoriam in Gigantes litteris historiographicis in hoc antiquissimo marmore inscriptam, ex Herculis olim, nunc Divi Laurentij Templo translatam, ad conversam: vetustiss: patriæ monumenta atq' decora hic locandum statuit S. P. Q. V."

Under it :

"Sum Osiris Rex Jupiter universo in terrarum orbe.

Sum Osiris Rex qui ab Itala in Gigantes exercitus veni, vidi, et vici.

Sum Osiris Rex qui terrarum pacata Italiam decem a'nos quorum inventor fui."

Neere the towne is a sulphureous fountaine which continualy boils. After dinner we tooke horse by the new way of Capranica, and so passing near Mount Ciminus and the Lake, we began to enter the plains of Rome, at which sight my thoughts were

strangely elevated, but soon allay'd by so violent a shower which fell just as we were contemplating that proud mistress of the world, and descending by the Vatican (for at that gate we entered), that before we got into the citty I was wet to the skin.

I came to Rome on the 4 Nov. 1644, about 5 at night, and being perplexed for a convenient lodging, wandered up and down on horseback, till at last one conducted us to Mons^r^ Petit's, a Frenchman, near the Piazza Spagnola. Here I alighted, and having bargained with my host for 20 crownes a moneth, I caused a good fire to be made in my chamber and went to bed, being so very wet. The next morning (for I was resolved to spend no time idly here) I got acquainted with several persons who had long lived at Rome. I was especialy recommended to Father John, a Benedictine monke and Superior of his Order for the English College of Douay, a person of singular learning, religion, and humanity; also to M^r^. Patrick Cary, an Abbot, brother to our learned Lord Falkland, a witty young priest who afterwards came over to our church; Dr. Bacon and Dr. Gibbs,[1] physicians who had dependance on Cardinal Caponi, the latter being an excellent poet; Father Cortnee, the Chiefe of the Jesuites in the English Colledge; my Lord of Somerset, brother to the Marquiss of Worcester; and some others, from whom I received instructions how to behave in towne, with directions to masters and bookes to take in search of the antiquities, churches, collections, &c. Accordingly

[1] James Alban Gibbs, a Scotchman bred at Oxford, who resided many years at Rome, where he died 1677, and was buried in the Pantheon there with an epitaph to his memory under a marble bust of him. He was an extraordinary character. In Wood's Athenæ is a long account of him, and also some curious particulars in Warton's Life of Dr. Bathurst; he was a great writer of Latin poetry, a small collection of which he published at Rome, to which is prefixed his portrait neatly engraved.

the next day, Nov. 6, I began to be very pragmatical.[1]

In the first place our Sights-man[2] (for so they name certain persons here who get their living by leading strangers about to see the city) went to the Palace Farnezi, a magnificent square structure, built by Michael Angelo, of the 3 orders of columns after the antient manner, and when architecture was but newly recovered from the Gotic barbarity. The court is square and tarrass'd, having two payre of staires which leade to the upper roomes, and conducted us to that famous gallery painted by Agostino Caracci, than which nothing is more rare of that art, so deepe and well-studied are all the figures that it would require more judgement than I confesse I had, to determine whether they were flat or emboss'd. Thence we passed into another painted in *chiar' oscuro*, representing the fabulous history of Hercules. We went out on a terrace, where was a pretty garden on the leads, for it is built in a place that has no extent of ground backwards. The greate hall is wrought by Salviati and Zuccharo, furnish'd with statues, one of which being modern is the figure of a Farnese in a triumphant posture, of white marble, worthy of admiration. Here we were shewed the museum of Fulvius Ursinos repleate with innumerable collections; but the Major Domo being absent, we could not at this time see all we wished. Descending into the court we with astonishment contemplated those two incomparable statues of Hercules and Flora, so much celebrated by Pliny, and indeede all antiquity, as two of the most rare pieces in the

[1] Mr. Evelyn must mean this in a good sense, very active and full of business, viz. what he came upon, to view the antiquities and beauties of Rome, both ancient and modern.

[2] The present name for these gentlemen is with the Italians a Cicerone, but they affect universally the title of Antiquaries.

world: there likewise stands a modern statue of Hercules and two Gladiators not to be despis'd. In a second court was a temporary shelter of boards over the most stupendous and never to be sufficiently admir'd Torso of Amphion and Dirces, represented in 5 figures, exceeding the life in magnitude, of the purest white marble, the contending work of those famous statuaries, Apollonius and Taurisco, in the time of Augustus, hewed out of one entire stone, and remaining unblemished, to be valued beyond all the marbles of the world for its antiquity and workmanship. There are divers other heads and busts. At the entrance of this stately palace stand 2 rare and vast fountaines of garnito stone, brought into this piazza out of Titus's Bathes. Here in sum'er the gentlemen of Rome take the *fresco* in their coaches and on foote. At the sides of this court we visited the palace of Signor Pichini, who has a good collection of antiquities, especialy the Adonis of Parian marble, which my Lord Arundel would once have purchas'd if a greate price would have been taken for it.

We went into the Campo Vaccino by the ruines of the Temple of Peace, built by Titus Vespasianus, and thought to be the largest as well as the most richly furnish'd of all the Roman dedicated places; it is now an heape rather than a temple, yet the roofe and *volto* continue firme, shewing it to have ben formerly of incomparable workmanship. This goodly structure was, none knows how, consum'd by fire the very night, by all computation, that our Bl. Saviour was borne.

From hence we passed by the place into w^ch^ Curtius precipitated himself for the love of his country, now without any signe of a lake or vorago. Neere this stand some columns of white marble, of exquisite worke, supposed to be part of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans built by Augustus; the worke of the capitals

(being Corinthian) and architrave is excellent, full of sacrificing utensils. There are three other of Jupiter Stator. Opposite to these are the oratories or churches of St. Cosmo and Damiano, heretofore the Temples of Romulus; a pretty odd fabriq, with a tribunal, or tholus within, wrought all of Mosaic. The gates before it are brasse, and the whole much obliged to Pope Urban the 8th. In this sacred place lie the bodies of those two martyrs; and in a chapel on the right hand is a rare painting of Cavaliere Baglioni. We next entered St. Laurenzo in Miranda. The portico is supported by a range of most stately columns; the inscription cut in the architrave shews it to have ben the Temple of Faustina. It is now made a faire church and has an hospital which joines it. On the same side is St. Adriano, heretofore dedicated to Saturne. Before this was once placed a miliary column, supposed to be set in the center of the citty, from whence they us'd to compute the distance of all the citties and places of note under the dominion of those universal Monarchs. To this church are likewise brazen gates and a noble front: just opposite we saw the heapes and ruines of Cicero's palace. Hence we went towards Mons Capitolinus, at the foote of which stands the arch of Septimius Severus full and entire, save where the pedestal and some of the lower members are choaked up with ruines and earth. This arch is exceedingly inrich'd with sculpture and trophies, with a large inscription. In the terrestrial and naval battailes here graven is seen the Roman Aries [the battering-ram]; and this was the first triumphal arch set up in Rome. The Capitol, to which we climbed by very broad steps, is built about a square court, at the right hand of which, going up from Campo Vaccino, gushes a plentifull streame from the statue of Tybur in porphyrie, very antiq, and another representing Rome; but above

all is the admirable figure of Marforius casting water into a most ample concha. The front of this court is crowned with an excellent fabriq containing the Courts of Justice, and where the Criminal Notary sits, and others. In one of the halls they shew the statues of Gregory XIII. and Paule III. with several others. To this joynes a handsome tower, the whole faciata adorn'd with noble statues both on the outside and on the battlements, ascended by a double payre of staires, and a stately Posario. In the center of the court stands that incomparable horse bearing the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, as big as the life, of Corinthian mettal, placed on a pedestal of marble, esteemed one of the noblest pieces of worke now extant, antique and very rare. There is also a vast head of a colossean magnitude, of white marble, fixed in the wall. At the descending stayres are sett two horses of white marble governed by 2 naked slaves, taken to be Castor and Pollux, brought from Pompey's theatre. On the balustrade, the trophies of Marius against the Cimbrians, very ancient and instructive. At the foote of the stepps towards the left hand is that Colonna Miliaria with the globe of brasse on it, mention'd to have been formerly sett in Campo Vaccino. On the same hand is the palace of the Segniori Conservatori, or 3 Consuls, now the civil governors of the citty, containing the fraternities or halls and guilds (as we call them) of sundry companys, and other offices of state. Under the portico within, are the statues of Augustus Cæsar, a Bacchus, and the so renowned Colonna Rostrata of Duillius, with the excellent bassi relievi. In a smaller court, the statue of Constantine on a fountaine, a Minerva's head of brasse, and that of Commodus, to which belongs an hand the thumb whereoff is at least an ell long, and yet proportionable, but the rest of the Colosse is lost. In the corner of this court stand an

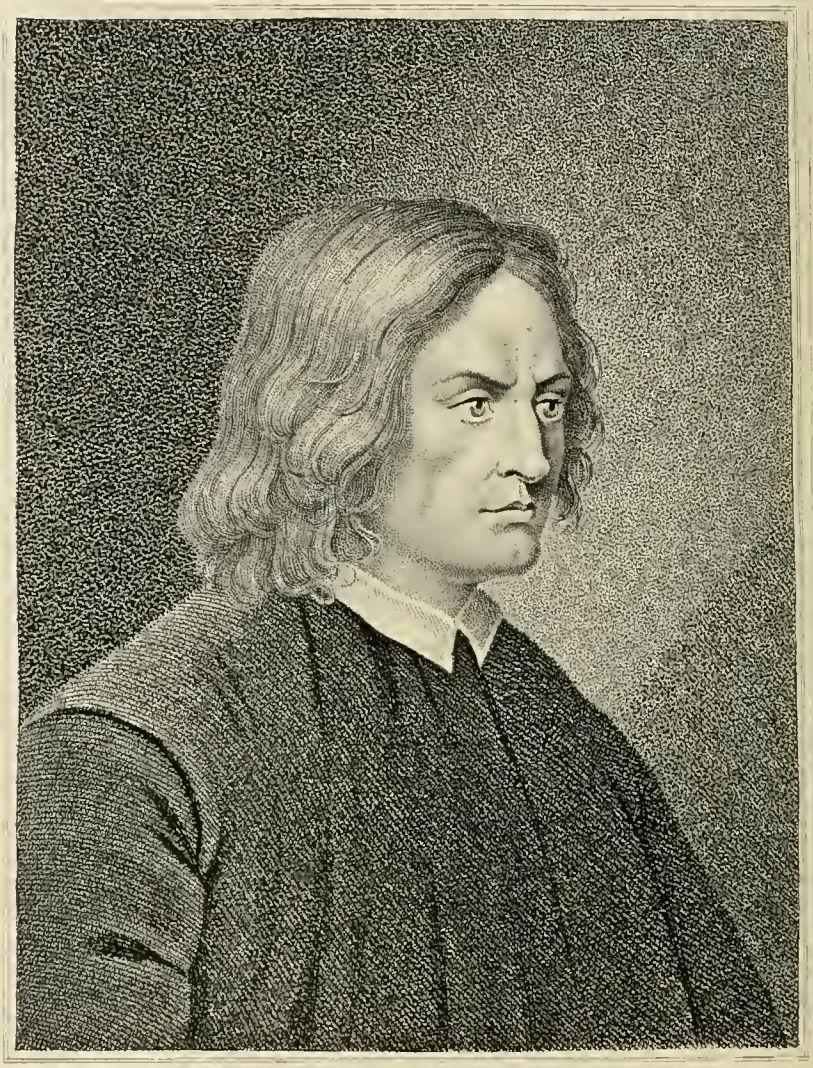
horse and lyon fighting, as big as life, in white marble, exceedingly valu'd ; likewise the Rape of the Sabines ; 2 cumbent figures of Alexander and Mammea ; 2 monstrous feete of a colosse of Apollo ; the sepulchre of Agrippina ; and the standard, or antiq measure of the Roman foote. Ascending by the stepps of the other corner, are inserted fower basse relievos, *viz.* the triumph and sacrifice of Marcus Aurelius, which last, for the antiquity and rareness of the worke, I caused my painter Carlo Neapolitano to copy. There are also two statues of the Muses, and one of Adrian the Emperor ; above stands the figure of Marius, and by the wall Marsias bound to a tree ; all of them excellent and antique. Above, in the lobby, are inserted into the walls those ancient laws on brasse called the 12 Tables ; a faire Madona of Pietro Perugino, painted on the wall ; neere which are the archives full of ancient records. In the greate hall are divers excellent paintings of Cavaliero Giuseppe d'Arpino, a statue in brasse of Sixtus V. and of Leo X. of marble. In another hall are many modern statues of their late Consuls and Governors, set about with fine antique heads ; others are painted by excellent masters, representing the actions of M. Scævola, Horatius Cocles, &c.—The room where the Conservatori now feast upon solemn dayes is tapisstred with crimson damasq embrodred with gold, having a state or *balduquino* of crimson velvet very rich ; the freeze above rarely painted. Here are in brasse, Romulus and Rhemus sucking the wolfe, of brasse, with the shepherd Faustulus by them ; also the boy plucking the thorne out of his foote, of brasse, so much admir'd by artists. There are also holy statues and heads of Saints. In a gallery neere adjoyning are the names of the ancient Consuls, Prætors, and Fasti Romani, so celebrated by the learned ; also the figure of an old woman ; two others

representing Poverty; and more in fragments. In another large roome furnish'd with velvet, are the statue of Adonis very rare, and divers antiq heads. In the next chamber is an old statue of Cicero, one of another Consul, an Hercules in brasse, two women's heads of incomparable worke, six other statues; and over the chimny a very rare basso relievo and other figures. In a little lobby before the chapell is the statue of Hannibal, a Bacchus very antiq, bustos of Pan and Mercury, with other old heads. All these noble statues, &c. belong to the citty, and cannot be dispos'd of to any privat person or remov'd hence, but are preserv'd for the honor of the place, though greate summes have been offer'd for them by divers Princes, lovers of art and antiquity. We now left the Capitol, certainely one of the most renown'd places in the world, even as now built by the designe of the famous M. Angelo.

Returning home by Ara Cœli, we mounted to it by more than 100 marble stepps, not in devotion as I observed some to do on their bare knees, but to see those two famous statues of Constantine in white marble, placed there out of his bathes. In this church is a Madona, reported to be painted by St. Luke, and a column, on which we saw the print of a foote which they affirme to have been that of the Angel, seene on the castle of St. Angelo. Here the feast of our blessed Saviour's nativity being yearely celebrated with divers pageants, they began to make the preparation. Having viewed the palace and fountaine at the other side of the stayres we return'd weary to our lodgings.

On the 7th we went againe neere the Capitol, towards the Tarpeian rock, where it has a goodly prospect of the Tybur. Thence descending by the Tullianum, where they told us St. Peter was imprisoned, they shew'd us a chapell (S. Pietro de Vin-

coli) in which a rocky side of it beares the impression of his face. In the nave of the church gushes a fountaine, which they say was caused by the Apostle's prayers, when having converted some of his fellow-captives he wanted water to make them Christians. The painting of the Ascension is by Raphael. We then walked about Mount Palatinus and the Aventine, and thence to the Circus Maximus, capable of holding 40,000 spectators, now a heape of ruines converted into gardens. Then by the Forum Boarium, where they have a tradition that Hercules slew Cacus, some ruines of his temple remaining. The temple of Janus quadrifontis, having 4 arches importing the 4 seasons, and on each side niches for the monethes, is still a substantial and pretty entire antiquity. Neere to this is the Arcus Argentariorum. Bending now towards the Tyber we went into the Theater of Marcellus, which would hold 80,000 persons, built by Augustus and dedicated to his nephew; the architecture from what remaines appears to be inferior to none. It is now wholly converted into the house of the Savelli, one of the old Roman families. The people were now generally busye in erecting temporary triumphs and arches with statues and flattering inscriptions against his Holiness's grand procession to St. John de Lateran, amongst which the Jewes also began one in testimony of gratitude for their protection under the Papal State. The Palazzo Barberini, designed by the present Pope's architect, Cavaliero Bernini, seems from the size to be as princely an object as any moderne building in Europ. It has a double portico, at the end of which we ascended by 2 payre of oval stayres, all of stone and voide in the well. One of these led us into a stately hall, the *volto* whereof was newly painted *a fresca* by the rare hand of Pietro Berretini il Cortone. To this is annex'd a gallery compleately



furnish'd with whatever art can call rare and singular, and a library full of worthy collections, medails, marbles, and manuscripts; but above all an Ægyptian Osyris, remarkable for its unknowne material and antiquity. In one of the roomes neere this hangs the Sposaliccio of St. Sebastian, the original of Annibal Carracci, of which I procured a copy little inferior to the prototype; a table in my judgment superior to any thing I had seene in Rome. In the court is a vast broaken gulio, or obelisq, having divers hieroglyphics cut on it.

Nov. 8th. We visited the Jesuites Church, the front whereoff is esteem'd a noble piece of architecture, the designe of Jacomo della Porta and the famous Vignola. In this church lyes the body of their renown'd Ignatius Loyola, an arme of Xaverius their other Apostle, and at the right end of their high altar their champion Card: Bellarmine. Here Father Kircher (professor of Mathematics and the Oriental tongues) shew'd us many singular courtesies, leading us into their refectory, dispensatory, laboratory, gardens, and finally (through an hall hung round with pictures of such of their order as had been executed for their pragmatical and buisy adventures) into his own study, where, with Dutch patience, he shew'd us his perpetual motions, catoptrics, magnetical experiments, modells, and a thousand other crotchets and devices, most of them since published by himselfe or his industrious scholar Schotti.

Returning home we had time to view the Palazzo de Medici, which was an house of the Duke of Florence, neere our lodging, upon the brow of Mons Pincius, having a fine prospect towards the Campo Marzo. It is a magnificent, strong building, with a substruction very remarkable, and a portico supported with columns towards the gardens, with two huge lions of marble at the end of the balustrade. The

whole outside of the *faciata* is incrusted with antiq and rare basse-relieves and statues. Descending into the garden is a noble fountaine govern'd by a Mercury of brasse. At a little distance on the left is a lodge full of fine statues, amongst which the Sabines, antiq and singularly rare. In the arcade neere this stand 24 statues of greate price, and hard by is a mount planted with cypresses representing a fortresse, with a goodly fountaine in the middle. Here is also a row balustred with white marble, covered over with the natural shrubbs, ivy, and other perennial greenes, divers statues and heads being placed as in niches. At a little distance are those fam'd statues of Niobe and her family, in all 15, as large as the life, of which we have ample mention in Pliny, esteemed among the best pieces of worke in the world for the passions they expresse, and all other perfections of that stupendous art. There is likewise in this garden a faire obelisq full of hieroglyphics. In going out the fountaine before the front casts water neere 50 foote in height when it is received in a most ample marble basin. Here they usually rod the greate-horse every morning, which gave me much diversion from the terrace of my owne chamber, where I could see all their motions. This evening I was invited to heare rare musiq at the Chiesa Nova; the black marble pillars within led us to that most precious oratory of Philippus Nerius their founder; they being of the oratory of secular priests, under no vowe. There are in it divers good pictures, as the Assumption of Girolamo Mutiano; the Crucifix; the Visitation of Elizabeth; the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin; Christo Sepolto of Guido Rheno, Caravaggio, Arpino, and others. This faire church consists of 14 altars and as many chapells. In it is buried (besides their Saint) Cæsar Baronius the great annalist. Through this we went into the *sacristia*, where, the tapers

being lighted, one of the Order preach'd; after him stepp'd up a child of 8 or 9 years old, who pronounced an oration with so much grace that I never was better pleas'd than to heare Italian so well and so intelligently spoken. This course it seemes they frequently use, to bring their scholars to a habit of speaking distinctly, and forming their action and assurance which none so much want as ours in England. This being finish'd began their *motettos*, which, in a lofty cupola richly painted, were sung by eunuchs and other rare voices, accompanied by theorbos, harpsicors, and viols, so that we were even ravish'd with the entertainment of the evening. This roome is painted by Cortona, and has in it two figures in the niches, and the church stands in one of the most stately streetes of Rome.

Nov. 10th. We went to see Prince Ludovisio's villa, where was formerly the *Viridarium* of the poet Sallust. The house is very magnificent, and the extent of the ground exceedingly large, considering that it is in a citty; in every quarter of the garden are antiq statues, and walkes planted with cypresse. To this garden belongs a house of retirement, built in the figure of a crosse after a particular ordonance, especially the stayre-case. The whitenesse and smoothnesse of the excellent pargeting was a thing I much observ'd, being almost as even and polish'd as if it had been of marble. Above is a faire prospect of the citty. In one of the chambers hang two famous pieces of Bassano, the one a Vulcan, the other a Nativity; there is a German clock full of rare and extraordinary motions, and in a little room below are many precious marbles, columns, urnes, vasas, and noble statues of porphyrie, Oriental alabaster, and other rare materials. About this fabriq is an ample area, environ'd with 16 vast jarrs of red earth wherein the Romans us'd to preserve their oyle, or wine

rather, which they buried, and such as are properly call'd *testæ*. In the palace I must never forget the famous statue of the Gladiator spoken of by Pliny, so much follow'd by all the rare artists as the many copies testifie, dispersed through almost all Europ both in stone and metal. There is also an Hercules, a head of porphyrie, and one of Marcus Aurelius. In the villa-house is a man's body flesh and all, petrified and even converted to marble, as it was found in the Alps, and sent by the Emperor to one of the Popes; it lay in a chest or cofin lin'd with black velvet, and one of the armes being broken, you may see the perfect bone from the flesh which remains intire. The Rape of Proserpine in marble is of the purest white, the worke of Bernini. In the cabinet neere it are innumerable small brasse figures and other curiosities. But what some looke upon as exceeding all the rest, is a very rich bedstead (which sort of grosse furniture the Italians much glory in, as formerly did our grandfathers in England in their inlaid wooden ones) inlaid with all sorts of precious stones and antiq heads, onyxs, achates, and cornelians, esteem'd to be worth 80 or 90,000 crownes. Here are also divers cabinets and tables of the Florence work, besides pictures in the gallery, especialy the Apollo. A conceyted chayre to sleepe in with the leggs stretcht out, with hooks, and pieces of wood to draw out longer or shorter.

From this villa we went to see Signor Angeloni's study, who very courteously shew'd us such a collection of rare medaills as is hardly to be parallel'd; divers good pictures, and many outlandish and Indian curiosities and things of nature.

From him we walked to Monte Cavallo, heretofore call'd Mons Quirinalis, where we saw those two rare horses, the worke of the rivals Phidias and Praxiteles, as they were sent to Nero [by Tiridates

King] out of Arminia. They were placed on pedestals of white marble by Sixtus V. by whom I suppose their injuries were repair'd, and are govern'd by 4 naked slaves like those at the foote of the capitol. Here runs a most noble fountaine, reguarding fower of the most stately streetes for building and beauty to be seene in any citty of Europ. Opposite to these statues is the Pope's sum'er palace, built by Gregory XIII. and in my opinion it is for largenesse and the architecture one of the most conspicuous in Rome, having a stately portico which leads round the court under columns, in the center of which there runs a beautifull fountaine. The chapell is incrusted with such precious materials that nothing can be more rich or glorious, nor are the other ornaments and moveables about it at all inferior. The hall is painted by Lanfranci and others. The garden, which is call'd the Belvedere di Monte Cavallo, in emulation to that of the Vatican, is most excellent for ayre and prospect; its exquisite fountaines, close walkes, grotts, piscinas or stews for fish, planted about with venerable cypresses, and refresh'd with water-musiq, aviaries, and other rarities.

Nov. 12th. We saw Dioclesian's Bathes, whose ruines testifie the vastnesse of the original foundation and magnificence; by what M. Angelo tooke from the ornaments about it, 'tis sayd he restor'd the then almost lost art of architecture. This monstrous pile was built by the labour of the primitive Christians, then under one of the ten great persecutions. The church of St. Bernardo is made out of one onely of these ruinous cupolas, and is in the form of an urne with a cover.

Opposite to this is the Fontana delle Therme, otherwise call'd Fons Felix; in it is a basso relievo of white marble representing Moses striking the rock, which is adorn'd with camels, men, women,

and children drinking, as large as life; a worke for the designe and vastnesse truly magnificent. The water is convey'd no lesse than 22 miles in an aquæduct by Sixtus V. *ex agro Columna* by way of Præneste, as the inscription testifies. It gushes into three ample lavors rais'd about with stone, before which are placed two lions of a strange black stone very rare and antiq. Neere this are the storehouses for the citty's corne, and over against it the church of St. Susanna, where were the gardens of Sallust. The *faciata* of this church is noble, the *soffito* within guilded and full of pictures; especially famous is that of Susanna, by Baldassa di Bologna. The tribunal of the high altar is of exquisite worke, from whose marble stepps you descend under-ground to the repository of divers Saints. The picture over this altar is the worke of Jacomo Siciliano. The foundation is for Bernadine Nunns.

S^ta^ Maria della Vittoria presents us with the most ravishing front. In this church was sung the Te Deum by Greg. XV. after the signal victory of the Emp^r^ at Prague; the standards then taken still hang up, and the impresse waving this motto over the Pope's armes, *Exterpentur*. I observed that the high altar was much frequented for an image of the Virgine. It has some rare statues: as Paule ravish'd into the third heaven, by Fiamingo, and some good pictures. From this we bent towards Dioclesian's Bathes, never satisfied with contemplating that immense pile, in building which 150,000 Christians were destin'd to labour 14 yeares, and were then all murther'd. Here is a monastery of Carthusians call'd S^ta^ Maria degli Angeli, the architecture of M. Angelo, and the cloister encompassing walls in an ample garden.

Mont Alto's villa is enter'd by a stately gate of stone built on the Viminalis, and is no other than a

spacious parke full of fountaines, especialy that which salutes us at the front; stews for fish; the cypresse walkes are so beset with statues, inscriptions, relievos, and other ancient marbles, that nothing can be more stately and solemn. The citron-trees are uncommonly large. In the palace joining to it are innumerable collections of value. Returning we stepped into St. Agnes church, where there is a tribunal of antiq Mosaiq, and on the altar a most rich ciborio of brasse with a statue of St. Agnes in Oriental alabaster. The church of S^ta^ Constanza has a noble cupola. Here they shew'd us a stone ship borne on a column heretofore sacred to Bacchus, as the relievo intimates by the drunken emblemes and instruments wrought upon it. The altar is of rich porphyrie, as I remember. Looking back we had the entire view of the Via Pia downe to the two horses before the Monte Cavallo before mention'd, one of the most glorious sights for state and magnificence that any citty can shew a traveller. We return'd by Porta Pia and the Via Salaria, neere Campo Scelerato, in whose gloomy caves the wanton vestals were heretofore im'ured alive.

Thence to Via Felix, a straite and noble streete but very precipitous, till we came to the fower Fountaines of Lepidus built at the abbutments of 4 stately wayes, making an exact crosse of right angles; and at the fountaines are as many cumbent figures of marble under very large niches of stone, the water powring into huge basins. The church of St. Carlo is a singular fabriq for neatnesse, of an oval designe, built of a new white stone; the columns are worth notice. Under it is another church of a structure nothing lesse admirable.

Next we came to S^ta^ Maria Maggiore, built upon the Esquiline Mountaine, which gives it a most conspicuous face to the streete at a greate distance.

The designe is mixt, partly antiq, partly moderne. Here they affirme that the Bl. Virgin appearing, shew'd where it should be built 300 yeares since. The first pavement is rare and antiq; so is the portico built by P. P. Eugenius II. The ciborio is the worke of Paris Romano, and the tribunal of Mosaic.

We were shew'd in the church a concha of porphyrie, wherein they say Patricius the founder lyes. This is one of the most famous of the 7 Roman churches, and is in my opinion at least, after St. Peter's, the most magnificent. Above all, for incomparable glory and materials, are the two chapels of Sextus V. and Paulus V. That of Sextus was design'd by Dom. Fontana, in which are two rare greate statues, and some good pieces of painting; and here they pretended to shew some of the Holy Innocents bodyes slaine by Herod: as also that renown'd tabernacle of metall gilt sustain'd by 4 angels holding as many tapers placed on the altar. In this chapel is the statue of Sextus in copper, with basse relievos of most of his famous acts in Parian marble; but that of P. Paulus, which we next entered, opposite to this, is beyond all imagination glorious and above description. It is so incircl'd with achates and other most precious materials as to dazzle and confound the beholders. The basse relievos are for the most part of pure snowy marble, intermixed with figures of molten brasse double guilt on *lapis lazuli*. The altar is a most stupendous piece; but most incomparable is the cupola painted by Giuseppe Rheni, and the present Baglioni, full of exquisite sculptures. There is a most sumptuous *sacristia;* and the piece over the altar was by the hand of St. Luke, if you will believe it. Paule V. hath here likewise built two other altars, under the one lye the bones of the Apostle St. Matthias. In another oratory is the statue of this Pope, and the head of the Congo Am-

bassador who was converted at Rome and dy'd here. In a third chapel design'd by M. Angelo lye the bodys of Platina, and the Cardinal of Toledo, Honorius III. Nicephorus IV. the ashes of St. Hierom, and many others. In that of Sextus V. before mentioned was shew'd us part of the crib in which Christ was swaddled at Bethlem; there is also the statue of Pius V.; and going out at the further end is the resurrection of Lazarus by a very rare hand. In the portico is this late inscription: "Cardinali Antonio Barberino Archipresbytero, aream marmoream quam Christianorum pietas exculpit, laborante sub Tyrannis ecclesia, ut esset loci sanctitate venerabilior, Franciscus Gualdus Arm. Eques S. Stephani è suis ædibus huc transtulit et ornavit 1632." Just before this portico stands a very sublime and stately Corinthian columne of white marble, translated hither for an ornament from the old Temple of Peace built by Vespasian, having on the plinth of the capital the image of our Lady gilt on mettal; at the pedestal runs a fountaine.—Going downe the hill we saw the obelisq taken from the mausoleum of Augustus, and erected in this place by Domenico Fontana, with this epigraphe: "Sixtus V. Pont. Max. Obeliscum Ægypto advectum, Augusti in Mausoleo dicatum, eversum, deinde et in plures confractum partes, in via ad S. Rochum jacentem, in pristinam faciem restitutum Salutiferæ Cruci felicius hic erigi jussit anno M. D. L. XXXVIII. Pont. III.;" and so we came weary to our lodgings.

At the foote of this hill is the church of St. Prudentia, in which is a well fill'd with the blood and bones of several martyrs, but grated over with yron, and visited by many devotas. Neere this stands the church of her sister, S. Praxedeis much frequented for the same reason. In a little obscure place cancelled in with yron worke, is the pillar or stump at

which they relate our Bl. Saviour was scourged, being full of bloudy spotts, at which the devout sex are always rubbing their chaplets, and convey their kisses by a stick having a tassel on it. Here, besides a noble statue of St. Peter is the tombe of the famous Cardinal Cajetan, an excellent piece: and here they hold that St. Peter sayd his first masse at Rome, with the same altar and the stone he kneeled on, he having been first lodged in this house as they compute about the 44th yeare of the incarnation. They also shew many reliques, or rather raggs, of his mantle. St. Laurence in Panisperna did next invite us, where that martyr was cruelly broiled on y^e^ gridiron, then yet remaining. St. Brigit is buried in this church under a stately monument. In the front of the pile is the suffering of St. Laurence painted *a fresca* on the wall. The fabriq is nothing but Gotic. On the left is the Therma Novatii, and on the right Agrippina's Lavacrum.

14. We pass'd againe thro' the stately Capitol and Campo Vaccino towards the Amphitheatre of Vespasian, but first stay'd to looke at Titus's Triumphal Arch, erected by the people of Rome in honour of his victory at Jerusalem; on the left hand whereoff he is represented drawne in a charriot with 4 horses abreast; on the right-hand, or side of the arch within, is sculptur'd in figures, or basse relievo as big as the life (and in one intire marble) the Arke of the Covenant, on which stands the seaven-branch'd candlestick describ'd in Leviticus, as also the two Tables of the Law, all borne on men's shoulders by the barrs, as they are describ'd in some of St. Hierom's bibles; before this go many crown'd and laureated figures, and 12 Roman fasces, with other sacred vessels. This much confirmed the idea I before had; and therefore, for the light it gave to the Holy History, I caused my paynter Carlo to copy it

exactly. The rest of the worke of the Arch is of the noblest, best understood composita; and the inscription is this, in capital letters:

S. P. Q. R.
D. TITO. D. VESPASIANI, F. VESPASIANI AVGVSTO.

S^ta^ Maria Nova is on the place where they told us Simon Magus fell out of the ayre at St. Peter's prayer, and burst himselfe to pieces on a flint. Neere this is a marble monument erected by the people of Rome in memory of the Pope's return from Avignon.

Being now pass'd the ruines of Meta-Sudante (which stood before the Colosseum, so called, because there once stood here the statue of Comodus) provided to refresh the gladiators, we enter the mighty ruines of the Vespasian Amphitheatre, begun by Vespasian, and finished by that excellent prince Titus. It is 830 Roman palmes in length (*i.e.* 130 paces), 90 in breadth at the area, with caves for the wild beasts which us'd to be baited by men instead of doggs; the whole oval peripheria 2888$\frac{4}{7}$ palmes, and capable of containing 87,000 spectators with ease and all accom'odation: the 3 rowes of circles are yet entire; the first was for the senators, the middle for the nobility, the third for the people. At the dedication of this place were 5,000 wild beasts slain in 3 moneths during which the feast lasted, to the expence of 10 millions of gold. It is built of Tiburtine stone, a vast height, with the 5 orders of architecture, by 30,000 captive Jewes. It is without, of a perfect circle, and was once adorn'd thick with statues, and remained intire till of late that some of the stones were carried away to repaire the citty walls and build the Farnesian Palace. That which still appeares most admirable is the contrivance of the porticos,

vaults, and staires, with the excessive altitude, which well deserves this distich of the poet:

"Omnis Cæsario cedat labor Amphitheatro
Unum pro cunctis fama loquatur opus."

Neere it is a small chapell call'd S^ta^ Maria della Pieta nel Colisseo, which is erected on the steps or stages, very lofty at one of its sides or ranges within, and where there lives only a melancholy heremite. I ascended to the very top of it with wonderfull admiration.

The Arch of Constantine the Great is close by the Meta-Sudante before mentioned, at the beginning of the Via Appia on one side Monte Celio, and is perfectly intire, erected by the people in memory of his victory over Maxentius at the Pons Milvius, now Ponte Mole. In the front is this inscription:

IMP. CAES. FL. CONSTANTINO MAXIMO
P. F. AVGVSTO S. P. Q. R.
QVOD INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS MENTIS
MAGNITVDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO
TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS
FACTIONE VNO TEMPORE IVSTIS .
REMPVBLICAM VLTVS EST ARMIS
ARCVM TRIVMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAVIT.

Hence we went to St. Gregorio in Monte Celio, where are many privileged altars, and there they shew'd us an arme of that saint and other reliques. Before this church stands a very noble portico.

15th. Was very wett, and I stirr'd not out, and the 16^th^ I went to visite Father John, Provincial of the Benedictines.

17th. I walked to Villa Borghesi, a house and ample garden on Mons Pincius, yet somewhat without the citty walls, circumscrib'd by another wall full of small turrets and banquetting-houses which makes it appeare at a distance like a little towne. Within 'tis

an elysium of delight, having in the center of it a noble palace; but the entrance of the garden presents us with a very glorious fabrick or rather dore-case adorn'd with divers excellent marble statues. This garden abounded with all sorts of delicious fruit and exotic simples, fountaines of sundry inventions, groves, and small rivulets. There is also adjoining to it a vivarium for estriges, peacocks, swanns, cranes, &c. and divers strange beasts, deare, and hares. The grotto is very rare, and represents among other devices artificial raine, and sundry shapes of vessells, flowers, &c. which is effected by changing the heads of the fountaines. The groves are of cypresse, laurell, pine, myrtil, and olive. The 4 sphinxes are very antique and worthy observation. To this is a volary full of curious birds. The house is square with turrets from which the prospect is excellent towards Rome and the invironing hills, covered as they now are with snow, w^ch^ indeed commonly continues even a great part of the sum'er, affording sweete refreshment. Round the house is a balustre of white marble, with frequent jettos of water, and adorn'd with a multitude of statues. The walls of the house are cover'd with antiq incrustations of history, as that of Curtius, the Rape of Europa, Leda, &c. The cornices above consist of frutages and festoons, between w^ch^ are niches furnish'd with statues, w^ch^ order is observ'd to the very roofe. In the lodge at the entry are divers good statues of Consuls, &c. with two pieces of field artillery upon carriages, (a mode much practised in Italy before the great men's houses) which they looke on as a piece of state more than defence. In the first hall within are the 12 Roman Emperors, of excellent marble; 'twixt them stand porphyry columns and other precious stones of vast height and magnitude, with urnes of Oriental alabaster. Tables of pietra-commessa: and here is that renown'd Diana

w^ch^ Pompey worshipp'd, of eastern marble; the most incomparable Seneca of touch, bleeding in an huge vasa of porphyrie, resembling the dropps of his blood; the so famous Gladiator, and the Hermaphrodite upon a quilt of stone. The new piece of Daphne, and David, of Cavaliero Bernini, is observable for the pure whiteness of the stone, and the art of the statuary plainely stupendious. There are a multitude of rare pictures of infinite value by the best masters; huge tables of porphyrie, and two exquisitely-wrought vases of the same. In another chamber are divers sorts of instruments of musiq: amongst other toyes that of a satyre, which so artificially express'd an human voice, with the motion of eyes and head, that it might easily affright one who was not prepared for that most extravagant sight. They shew'd us also a chayre that catches fast any who sitts downe in it, so as not to be able to stirr out, by certaine springs concealed in the armes and back thereoff, which at sitting downe surprizes a man on the suddaine, locking him in by the armes and thighs, after a true tretcherous Italian guise. The perspective is also considerable, compos'd by the position of looking-glasses, which render a strange multiplication of things resembling divers most richly-furnish'd roomes. Here stands a rare clock of German worke; in a word, nothing but what is magnificent is to be seene in this paradise.

The next day I went to the Vaticane, where in the morning I saw the ceremony of Pamfilio, the Pope's nephew, receiving a Cardinal's hat; this was the first time I had seene his holiness *in pontificalibus*. After the Cardinals and Princes had met in the consistory, the ceremony was in the Pope's chapell, where he was at the altar invested with most pompous rites.

19th. I visited St. Peter's, that most stupendious

and incomparable Basilicum, far surpassing any now extant in the world, and perhaps, Solomon's temple excepted, any that was ever built. The largeness of the piazza before the portico is worth observing, because it affords a noble prospect of the church, not crowded up as for the most part is the case in other places where greate churches are erected. In this is a fountaine out of which gushes a river rather than a streame, which ascending a good height breakes upon a round embosse of marble into millions of pearles that fall into the subjacent basins with greate noise; I esteeme this one of the goodliest fountaines I ever saw.

Next is the obelisq transported out of Egypt, and dedicated by Octavius Augustus to Julius Cæsar, whose ashes it formerly bore on the summit; but being since overturned by the barbarians, was reerected with vast cost and a most stupendious invention by Domenico Fontana, architect to Sixtus V. The obelisk consists of one intire square stone without hieroglypic, in height 72 foote, but comprehending the base and all 'tis 108 foote high, and rests on 4 lyons of gilded copper, so as you may see through the base of the obelisq and plinth of the piedestal.

Upon two faces of the obelisq is engraven :

DIVO CAES. DIVI
IVLII F. AVGVSTO
TI. CAES. DIVI AVG.
F. AVGVS. SACRVM.

It now beares on the top a crosse in which 'tis sayd that Sextus V. inclos'd some of the holy wood ; and under it is to be read by good eyes :

SANCTISSIMAE CRVCI
SIXTVS V. PONT. MAX.
CONSECRAVIT

E PRIORE SEDE AVVLSVM
ET CAESS. AVG. AC TIB.
I. L. ABLATUM M.D.LXXXVI.

On the foure faces of the base below:

1. CHRISTVS VINCIT.
CHRISTVS REGNAT.
CHRISTVS IMPERAT.
CHRISTVS AB OMNI MALO
PLEBEM SVAM DEFENDAT.

2. SIXTVS V. PONT. MAX.
OBELISCVM VATICANVM DIIS GENTIVM
IMPIO CVLTV DICATVM
AD APOSTOLORVM LIMINA
OPEROSO LABORE TRANSTVLIT
AN. M.D.LXXXVI. PONT. II.

3. ECCE CRVX DOMINI
FVGITE PARTES
ADVERSAE
VINCIT LEO
DE TRIBV IVDA.

4. SIXTVS V. PONT. MAX.
CRVCI INVICTAE
OBELISCVM VATICANVM
AB IMPIA SVPERSTITIONE
EXPIATVM IVSTIVS
ET FELICIVS CONSECRAVIT
AN. M.D.L.XXXVI. PONT. II.

A little lower:

DOMINICVS FONTANA EX PAGO MILIAGRI NOVOCOMENSIS
TRANSTVLIT ET EREXIT.[1]

It is reported to have taken a year in erecting, to have cost 37,975 crowns, the labor of 907 men and 75 horses; this being the first of the 4 Egyptian obelisks set up at Rome, and one of the 42 brought

[1] In 1589 this eminent architect published a folio volume, with engravings, descriptive of the manner of removing and re-creating this famous monument of antiquity, entitled "Del modo tenuto nel trasportare l'Obelisco Vaticano," with his portrait in the title-page, holding a model of this column.

to the citty out of Egypt, set up in several places, but thrown down by the Goths, Barbarians, and earthquakes.[1] Some coaches stood before the stepps of the ascent, whereoff one belonging to Card[l] Medici had all the metall worke of massy silver, viz. the bow behind and other places. The coaches at Rome, as well as cover'd wagons also much in use, are generally the richest and largest I ever saw. Before the *faciata* of the church is an ample pavement. The church was first begun by St. Anacletus when rather a chapel, on a foundation as they give out of Constantine the Great, who in honour of the Apostles carried 12 baskets full of sand to the work. After him Julius II. tooke it in hand, to which all his successors have contributed more or less.

The front is suppos'd to be the largest and best studied piece of architecture in the world; to this we went up by 4 stepps of marble. The first entrance is supported by huge pilasters; the *volto* within is the richest possible, and overlayd with gold. Between the 5 large anti-ports are columns of enormous height and compass, with as many gates of brasse, the worke and sculpture of Pollaivola the Florentine, full of cast figures and histories in a deepe relievo. Over this runs a terrace of like amplitude and ornament, where the Pope at solemn times bestowes his benediction on the vulgar. On each side of this portico are two campaniles, or towers, whereof there was but one perfected of admirable art. On the top of all runns a balustrade w[ch] edges it quite round, and upon this at equal distances are Christ and the 12 Disciples of gigantic size and stature, yet below shewing no greater than the life. Entring the church, admirable is the bredth of the *volto* or roofe, w[ch] is all carv'd with foliage and roses overlayd w[th] gold in nature of a deepe bas relievo, *à l'antiq*. The

[1] See Platina in Vita Pontiff, p. 315.

nave, or body, is in forme of a crosse whereof the foote part is the longest; and at the *internodium* of the transept rises y^e^ cupola, w^ch^ being all of stone and of prodigious height is more in compasse than y^t^ of the Pantheon (w^ch^ was the largest amongst the old Romans, and is yet intire) or any other knowne. The inside or concave is cover'd w^th^ most exquisite Mosaiq representing the Celestial Hierarchy, by Giuseppe d'Arpino, full of starrs of gold; the convex or outside expos'd to y^e^ aire, is cover'd with lead w^th^ great ribbs of metall double guilt, (as are also the ten other lesser cupolas, for no fewer adorn this glorious structure,) which gives a greate and admirable splendor in all parts of y^e^ citty. On the sum'it of this is fix'd a brasen globe gilt, capable of receiving 35 persons. This I entered, and engrav'd my name amongst other travellers. Lastly is the crosse, the access to w^ch^ is betweene the leaden covering and the stone convex or arch-worke, a most truly astonishing piece of art. On the battlements of the church, also all overlayd w^th^ lead and marble, you would imagine yourself in a town, so many are the cupolas, pinnacles, towers, juttings, and not a few houses inhabited by men who dwell there, and have enough to do to look after the vast reparations w^ch^ continually employ them.

Having seene this, we descended into the body of the church, full of collaterall chapells and large oratories, most of them exceeding the size of ordinary churches; but the principal are fowre incrusted with most precious marbles and stones of various colours, adorn'd with an infinity of statues, pictures, stately altars, and innumerable reliques. The altar-piece of St. Michael being of Mosaiq, I could not passe without particular note, as one of the best of that kind. The chapel of Gregory XIII. where he is buried, is most splendid. Under the cupola, and in y^e^ center of the church, stands the high altar consecrated first by

Clement VIII. adorn'd by Paul V. and lately cover'd by Pope Urban VIII. with that stupendous canopy of Corinthian brasse which heretofore was brought from the Pantheon; it consists of 4 wreath'd columns partly channel'd and incircl'd with vines, on which hang little *puti*, birds and bees (the armes of the *Barbarini*), sustaining a *baldachino* of the same mettal. The 4 columns weigh an hundred and ten thousand pounds, all over richly gilt; this with the pedestalls, crowne, and statues about it, form a thing of y^t^ art, vastness, and magnificence as is beyond all that man's industry has produced of the kind; it is the work of Bernini, a Florentine sculptor, architect, painter, and poet, who, a little before my coming to the citty, gave a publiq opera (for so they call shews of that kind) wherein he painted the scenes, cut the statues, invented the engines, compos'd the musiq, writ the comedy, and built the theatre. Opposite to either of these pillars, under those niches which with their columns support the weighty cupola, are placed 4 exquisite statues of Parian marble, to which are 4 altars; that of St. Veronica, made by Fra. Mochi, has over it the reliquary, where they shew'd us the miraculous *Sudarium* indued w^th^ the picture of o^r^ Saviour's face, with this inscription: "Salvatoris imaginem Veronicæ Sudario exceptā ut loci majestas decentèr custodiret, Urbanus VIII. Pont. Max. Marmoreum signum et Altare addidit, Conditorium extruxit et ornavit."

Right against this is y^t^ of Longinus of a Colossean magnitude also by Bernini, and over him the conservatory of y^e^ iron lance inserted in a most precious chrystal, with this epigraph: "Longini Lanceam quam Innocentius VIII. a Bajazete Turcarum Tyranno accepit, Urbanus VIII. statuâ appositâ, et Sacello substructo, in exornatum Conditorium transtulit."

The third chapel has over the altar the statue of our countrywoman St. Helena the mother of Constantine the Great, the worke of Boggi an excellent sculptor; and here is preserved a greate piece of the pretended wood of the holy crosse, which she is said to have first detected miraculously in the Holy Land. It was placed here by the late Pope with this inscription: "Partem Crucis quam Helena Imperatrix è Calvario in Urbem adduxit, Urbanus VIII. Pont. Max. è Sissorianâ Basilicâ desumptam, additis arâ et statuâ, hìc in Vaticano collocavit."

The 4th hath over the altar, and opposite to that of St. Veronica, the statue of St. Andrew, the worke of Fiamingo, admirable above all the other; above is preserv'd the head of y^t^ Apostle richly inchas'd. It is said that this excellent sculptor died mad to see his statue placed in a disadvantageous light by Bernini the chiefe architect, who found himselfe outdone by this artist. The inscription over it is this:

"St. Andreæ caput quod Pius II. ex Achaiâ in Vaticanum asportandum curavit, Urbanus VIII. novis hic ornamentis decoratum, sacrisq' statuæ, ac Sacelli honoribus coli voluit."

The Reliques shew'd and kept in this church are without number, as are also the precious vessels of gold, silver, and gems, with the vests and services to be seene in the Sacristy, which they shew'd us. Under the high altar is an ample grot inlaid with *pietra-com'essa*, wherein half of the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul are preserv'd; before hang divers greate lamps of the richest plate burning continually. About this and contiguous to the altar runns a balustrade in forme of a theatre, of black marble. Towards the left as you goe out of the church by the portico, a little beneath the high altar, is an old brasse statue of St. Peter sitting, under the soles of whose feete many devoute persons rub their heads

and touch their chaplets. This was formerly cast from a statue of Jupiter Capitolinus. In another place stands a columne grated about w^th^ yron, whereon they report that our Bl. Saviour was often wont to leane as he preached in the Temple. In the worke of the reliquary under the cupola there are 8 wreathed columns brought from the Temple of Solomon. In another chapell they shew'd us the chayre of St. Peter, or, as they name it, the Apostolical Throne; but amongst all the chapells the one most glorious has for an altar-piece a Madona bearing a dead Christ on her knees in white marble, the work of M. Angelo. At the upper end of the Cathedral are several stately monuments, especially that of Urban VIII. Round the cupola and in many other places in the church are confession-seates for all languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, English, Irish, Welsh, Sclavonian, Dutch, &c. as it is written on their freezes in golden capitals, and there are still at confessions some of all nations. Towards the lower end of the church, and on the side of a vast pillar sustaining a weighty roofe, is the *depositum* and statue of the Countess Matilda, a rare piece, w^th^ basso-relievos about it of white marble the worke of Bernini. Here are also those of Sextus IV. and Paulus III. &c. Amongst the exquisite pieces in this sumptuous fabriq is that of the ship with St. Peter held up from sinking by our Saviour; the emblems about it are the Mosaiq of the famous Giotto, who restor'd and made it perfect after it had been defaced by the Barbarians. Nor is the pavement under the cupola to be passed over without observation, which with the rest of the body and walls of the whole church, are all inlaid with the richest of *pietra-com'essa*, in the most splendid colours of polish'd marbles, achats, serpentine, porphyry, calcedone, &c. wholly incrusted to y^e^ very roofe. Coming out

by the portico at which we entred, we were shew'd the Porto Santo, never opened but at the year of jubilee. This glorious foundation hath belonging to it 30 canons, 36 beneficiates, 28 clearks benefic'd, with in'umerable chaplaines, &c. a Cardinal being always arch-priest ; the present Cardinal was Franc. Barberini, who also stiled himselfe Protector of the English, to whom he was indeede very courteous.

Nov. 20th. I went to visite that ancient See and Cathedral of St. John di Laterano, and the holy places thereabout. This is a church of extraordinary devotion, though for outward forme not comparable to St. Peter's, being of Gotiq ordonance. Before we went into the cathedral the baptisterie of St. John Baptist presented itselfe, being formerly part of the Greate Constantine's palace, and as it is sayd, his chamber where by St. Silvester he was made a Christian ; it is of an octagonal shape, having before the entrance 8 faire pillars of rich porphyrie, each of one intire piece, their capitalls of divers orders supporting lesser columnes of white marble, and these supporting a noble cupola, the moulding whereof is excellently wrought. In the chapell which they affirme to have been the lodging place of this Emperor, all women are prohibited from entering, for the malice of Herodias who caus'd him to loose his head. Here are deposited several sacred reliques of St. James, Mary Magdalen, St. Matthew, &c. and two goodly pictures. Another chapel or oratory neere it is called St. John the Evangelist, well adorn'd w^th^ marbles and tables, especialy those of Cavalier Giuseppe, and of Tempesta, in fresco. We went hence into another called St. Venantius, in which is a tribunal all of Mosaiq in figures of Popes ; here is also an altar of the Madona much visited, and divers Sclavonish saints, companions of Pope John IV. The portico of the church is built of

materials brought from Pontius Pilate's house in Jerusalem.

The next sight which attracted our attention was a wonderful concourse of people at their devotions before a place called Scala Sancta, to which is built a noble front. Entering the portico, we saw those large marble stayres, 28 in number, which are never ascended but on the knees, some lip-devotion being us'd on every step, on which you may perceive divers red specks of blood under a grate which they affirme to have been drops of o^r^ Bl. Saviour at the time he was so barbarously mis-us'd by Herod's souldiers, for these stayres are reported to have been translated hither from his palace in Jerusalem. At the top of them is a chapell, whereat they enter, (but we could not be permitted) by gates of marble, being the same our Saviour passed when he went out of Herod's house. This they name the Sanctum Sanctorum, and over it we read this epigraphe: "Non est in toto sanctior orbe locus." Here, through a grate, we saw that picture of Christ paynted as they say by the hand of St. Luke to the life. Descending again, we saw before the church the obelisc, which is indeed most worthy of admiration. It formerly lay in the Circo Maximo, and was erected here by Sixtus V. in 1587, being 112 foote in height without the base or pedestall; at y^e^ foote 9½ one way and 8 the other. This pillar was first brought from Thebes at the utmost confines of Egypt, to Alexandria, from thence to Constantinople, thence to Rome, and is said by Ammianus Marcellinus to have been dedicated to Ramises King of Egypt. It was transferr'd to this city by Constantine the sonne of the Great, and is full of hieroglyphics, serpents, men, owles, falcons, oxen, instruments, &c. containing (as Father Kircher the Jesuit will shortly tell us in a book which he is ready to

publish) all the recondite and abstruse learning of that people. The vessel, gally, or floate y^t^ brought it to Rome so many hundred leagues must needs have ben of wonderful bignesse and strange fabriq. The stone is one and intire, and [having ben thrown down] was erected by the famous Dom. Fontana for that magnificent Pope Sixtus V. as the rest were; 'tis now crack'd in many places, but solidly joyn'd. The obelisk is thus inscrib'd at the several faciatas:

Fl. Constantinus Augustus, Constantini Augusti F. Obeliscum à patre suo motum diuq; Alexandriæ jacentem trecentorum remigum impositum navi mirandi vastitatis per mare Tiberimq; magnis molibus Romam convectum in Circo Max. ponendum S. P. Q. R. D. D.

On the second square:

Fl. Constantinus Max: Aug: Christianæ fidei Vindex, & Assertor Obeliscum ab Ægyptio Rege impuro voto Soli dicatum, sedibus avulsum suis per Nilum transfer. Alexandriam, ut novam Romam ab se tunc conditam eo decoraret monumento.

On the third:

Sixtus V. Pontifex Max: Obeliscum hunc specie eximiâ temporum calamitate fractum, Circi Maximi ruinis humo, limoq; altè demersum, multâ impensâ extraxit, hunc in locum magno labore transtulit, formæq; pristinæ accuratè vestitum, Cruci invictissimæ dicavit anno M.D.LXXXVIII. Pont. IIII.

On the fourth:

Constantinus per Crucem Victor à Silvestro hìc Baptisatus Crucis gloriam propagavit.

Leaving this wonderful monument (before which is a stately publiq fountaine, w^th^ a statue of St. John in the middle of it) we visited his Holyness's palace, being a little on the left hand, the designe of Fontana architect to Sextus V.; this I take to be one of the best places in Rome; but not staying, we en-

ter'd the church of St. John di Laterano, w^ch^ is properly the Cathedral of the Roman See, as I learn'd by these verses engraven upon the architrave of the portico:

> Dogmate Papali datur, et simul Imperiali
> Quòd sim cunctarum mater caput Ecclesiarū
> Hinc Salvatoris cœlestia regna datoris
> Nomine Sanxerunt, cum cuncta peracta fuerunt;
> Sic vos ex toto conversi supplice voto
> Nostra quòd hæc ædes; tibi Christe sit inclyta sedes.

'Tis called Lateran, from a noble family dwelling it seems hereabouts, on Mons Cælius. The church is Gotiq and hath a stately tribunal; the paintings are of Pietro Pisano. It was the first church y^t^ was consecrated with the ceremonies now introduc'd, and where altars of stone supplied those of wood, heretofore in use and made like large chests for the easier removal in times of persecution; such an altar is still the greate one here preserved, as being that on which (they hold) St. Peter celebrated masse at Rome, for which reason none but the Pope may now presume to make that use of it. The pavement is of all sorts of precious marbles, and so are the walles to a great height, over which 'tis painted *a fresca* with the life and acts of Constantine the Greate, by most excellent masters. The organs are rare, supported by 4 columns. The *suffito* is all richly gilded and full of pictures. Opposite to the porte is an altar of exquisite architecture with a tabernacle on it all of precious stones, the worke of Targoni; on this is a cœna of plate, the invention of Curtius Vanni, of exceeding value; the tables hanging over it are of Giuseppe d'Arpino. About this are 4 excellent columnes transported out of Asia by the Emperor Titus, of brasse double gilt, about 12 foote in height; the walls betweene them are incrusted w^th^ marble

and set with statues in niches, the vacuum reported to be fill'd with holy earth w^ch^ St. Helena sent from Jerusalem to her sonn Constantine who set these pillars where they now stand. At one side of this is an oratory full of rare paintings and monuments, especially those of the great Connestable Colonna. Out of this we came into the Sacristia, full of good pictures of Albert and others. At the end of the church is a flat stone supported by 4 pillars which they affirme to have beene the exact height of our Bl. Saviour, and say they never fitted any mortal man that tried it, but he was either taller or shorter; two columns of the vaile of the Temple which rent at his passion; the stone on which they threw lots for his seamelesse vesture, and the pillar on which the cock crow'd after Peter's denial; and, to omit no fine thing, the just length of the Virgin Mary's foote as it seemes her shoemaker affirm'd! Here is a sumptuous crosse beset with precious stones, containing some of the very wood of the holy crosse itselfe; with many other things of this sort: also numerous most magnificent monuments, especialy those of St. Helen of porphyrie; Cardinal Farneze; Martine the First of coper; the pictures of Mary Magdalen, Martine V. Laurentius Valla, &c. are of Gaetano; the Nunciata, designed by M. Angelo; and the greate crucifix of Sermoneta. In a chapel at one end of the porch is a statue of Henry IV. of France in brasse standing in a darke hole, and so has don many yeares; perhaps from not believing him a thorough proselyte. The 2 famous Œcumenical Councils were celebrated in this church by Pope Simachus, Martin the First, Stephen, &c.

Leaving this venerable church (for in truth it has a certaine majesty in it) we pass'd through a faire and large hospital of good architecture, having some inscriptions put up by Barberini, the late Pope's

nephew. We then went by St. Sylvia, where is a noble statue of St. Gregory P. began by M. Angelo; a St. Andrewe, and the bath of St. Cecilia. In this church are some rare paintings, especialy that story on the wall of Guido Rheni. Thence to St. Giovanni e Paula, where the friers are reputed to be greate chymists. The quire, roofe, and paintings in the tribuna are excellent. Descending the Mons Cælius we come against the vestiges of the Palazzo Maggiore, heretofore the Golden House of Nero; now nothing but an heape of vast and confused ruines, to shew what time and the vicissitude of human things dos change from the most glorious and magnificent to the most deformed and confused. We next went into St. Sebastian's church, which has an handsome front: then we pass'd by the place where Romulus and Rhemus were taken up by Faustulus; the Forum Romanum; and so by the edge of the Mons Palatinus, where we saw the ruines of Pompey's house, and the church of St. Anacletus; and so into the Circus Maximus, heretofore capable of containing an hundred and sixty thousand spectators, but now all one entire heape of rubbish, part of it converted into a garden of pot-herbs. We concluded this evening with hearing the rare voices and musiq at the Chiesa nova.

Nov. 21st. I was carried to see a great virtuoso Cavaliero Pozzo, who shew'd us a rare collection of all kinds of antiquities, and a choice library, over which are the effigies of most of our late men of polite literature. He had a great collection of the antiq basso-relievos about Rome, w^ch^ this curious man had caus'd to be design'd in several folios: many fine medails; the stone which Pliny calls Enhydrus; it had plainly in it the quantity of halfe a spoonfull of water, of a yellow pebble colour, of the bigness of a walnut. A stone paler than an amethyst, which yet

he affirm'd to be the true carbuncle, and harder than a diamond ; 'twas set in a ring, without foile or any thing at the bottom, so as it was transparent, of a greenish yellow, more lustrous than a diamond. He had very pretty things painted on crimson velvet, design'd in black, and shaded and heighten'd with white ; set in frames ; also a number of choice designs and drawings.

Hence we walked to the Suburra and Erariū Saturni, where yet remaine some ruines and an inscription. From thence to St. Pietro in vinculo one of the 7 churches on the Esqueline, an old and much frequented place of greate devotion for the relicks there, especially the bodies of the seaven Maccabean breathren which lye under the altar. On the wall is a St. Sebastian of Mosaic, after the Greeke manner : but what I chiefly reguarded was that noble sepulchre of Pope Julius II. the worke of M. Angelo, with that never sufficiently to be admired statue of Moses in white marble, and those of Vita Contemplativa and Activa by the same incomparable hand. To this church belongs a monastery, in the court of whose cloisters grow two tall and very stately palme-trees. Behind these we walked a turne amongst the Bathes of Titus, admiring the strange and prodigious receptacles for water, which the vulgar call the Setti Sali, now all in heapes.

Nov. 22nd. Was the sollemne and greatest ceremony of all the State Ecclesiastical, viz. the procession of the Pope (Innocent X.) to St. John de Laterano, which, standing on the steps of Ara Celi, neere the Capitol, I saw passe in this manner :—First went a guard of Swissers to make way, and divers of the avant guard of horse carrying lances. Next follow'd those who carried the robes of the Cardinals, two and two ; then the Cardinal's mace-bearers ; the caudatari on mules ; the masters of their horse ; the

Pope's barber, taylor, baker, gardner, and other domestiq officers, all on horseback in rich liveries; the squires belonging to the guard; 5 men in rich liveries led 5 noble Neapolitan horses white as snow, cover'd to the ground with trappings richly embroidered, which is a service paid by the King of Spaine for the kingdomes of Naples and Sicily, pretended feudatorys to the Pope; 3 mules of exquisite beauty and price, trapp'd in crimson velvet; next followed 3 rich litters with mules, the litters empty; the master of the horse alone, with his squires; 5 trumpeters; the amerieri estra muros; the fiscale and consistorial advocates; capellani, camerieri de honore, cubiculari and chamberlaines, call'd secreti; then followed 4 other camerieri with 4 capps of the dignity pontifical, which were Cardinals hatts carried on staffs; 4 trumpets; after them a number of noble Romans and gentlemen of quality very rich, and followed by innumerable staffieri and pages; the secretaries of the chancellaria, abbreviatori-acoliti in their long robes and on mules; auditori di rota; the deane of the roti and master of the sacred palace on mules, with grave but rich foote clothes, and in flate episcopal hatts; then went more of the Roman and other nobility and courtiers, w^th^ divers pages in most rich liveries on horseback; 14 drums belonging to the Capitol; the marshalls with their staves; the 2 sindics; the conservators of the citty in robes of crimson damask; the knight confalionier and prior of the R. R. in velvet tocques; 6 of his holynesses mace-bearers; then the captaine or governor of the castle of St. Angelo upon a brave prancer; the governor of the citty; on both sides of these 2 long ranks of Swissers; the masters of the ceremonies; the crosse-bearer on horseback, w^th^ two priests at each hand on foote; pages, footmen, and guards in aboundance; then came the Pope himselfe, carried in a litter or rather open chaire of

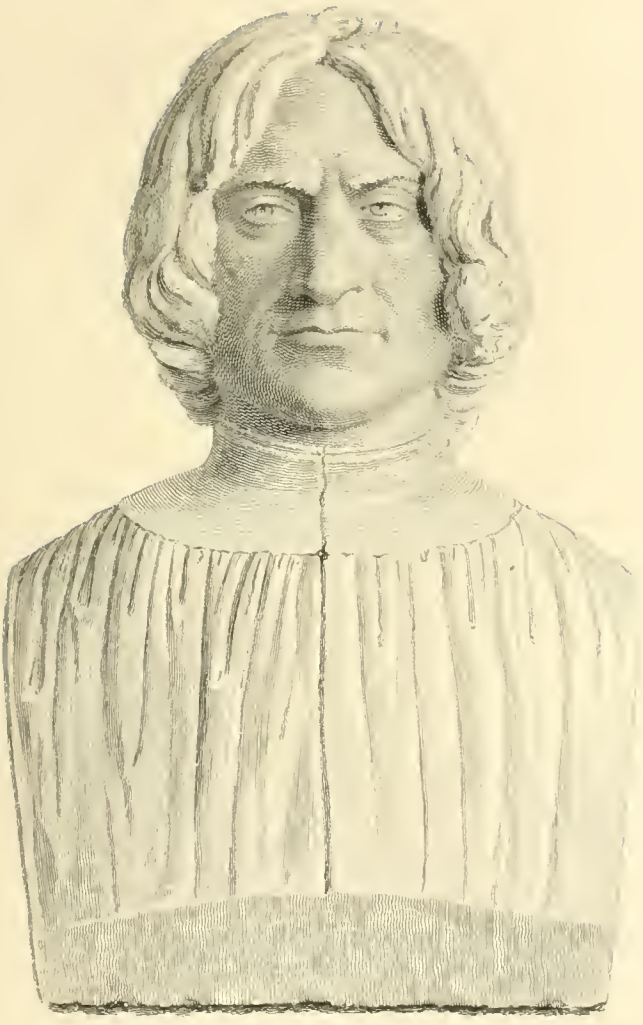
crimson velvet richly embrodred, and borne by two stately mules; as he went he held up two fingers, blessing the multitude who were on their knees or looking out of their windows and houses, w^th^ loud *viva's* and acclamations of felicity to their new Prince. This was follow'd by the master of his chamber, cupp-bearer, secretary, and physitian; then came the Cardinal Bishops, Cardinal Priests, Cardinal Deacons, Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops, all in their several and distinct habits, some in red, others in greene flat hatts w^th^ tassells, all on gallant mules richly trapp'd w^th^ velvet, and lead by their servants in greate state and multitudes; after them the apostolical protonotari, auditor, tresurer, and referendaries; lastly, the trumpets of the reare-guard, 2 pages of armes in helmets w^th^ feathers and carrying launces; 2 captaines; the pontifical standard of the Church; the two alfieri or cornets of the Pope's light horse, who all follow'd in armor and carrying launces; which, with innumerable rich coaches, litters, and people, made up the procession. What they did at St. John di Laterano I could not see by reason of the prodigious crowd; so I spent most of the day in viewing the two triumphal arches which had been purposely erected a few days before, and till now covered; the one by the Duke of Parma in the Foro Romano, the other by the Jewes in the Capitol, w^th^ flattering inscriptions. They were of excellent architecture, decorated with statues and aboundance of ornaments proper for y^e^ occasion, since they were but temporary, and made up of boards, cloath, &c. painted and fram'd on the suddaine, but as to outward appearance solid and very stately. The night ended w^th^ fire-workes. What I saw was that which was built before the Spanish Ambass^rs^ house in the Piazza del Trinita, and another of the French. The first appeared to be a mighty rock, bearing the Pope's armes, a dragon,

and divers figures, which being set on fire by one who flung a roquet at it, kindled immediately, yet preserving the figure both of y^e^ rock and statues a very long time, in so much as it was deemed ten thousand reports of squibbs and crackers spent themselves in order. That before the French Ambass^rs^ palace was a Diana drawne in a chariot by her doggs, with aboundance of other figures as large as y^e^ life which plaied w^th^ fire in the same manner. In the meane time the windows of the whole citty were set with tapers put into lanterns or sconces of several colour'd oyl'd paper, that the wind might not annoy them; this render'd a most glorious shew. Besides these there were at least 20 other fire-workes of vast charge and rare art for their invention before divers Ambass^rs^, Princes, and Cardinals palaces, especialy that on the castle of St. Angelo, being a pyramid of lights, of greate height, fastned to y^e^ ropes and cables w^ch^ support the standard-pole. The streetes were this night as light as day full of bonfires, canon roaring, musiq playing, fountaines running wine, in all excesse of joy and triumph.

Nov. 23rd. I went to the Jesuites College againe, the front whereoff gives place to few for its architecture, most of its ornaments being of rich marble. It has within a noble portico and court, sustain'd by stately columnes, as is the corridor over the portico, at the sides of which are the scholes for arts and sciences which are here taught as at the University. Here I heard Father Athanasius Kircher upon a part of Euclid, w^ch^ he expounded. To this joynes a glorious and ample church for y^e^ students; a second is not fully finish'd; and there are two noble libraries where I was shew'd that famous wit and historian Famianus Strada. Hence we went to the house of Hippolito Vitellesco (afterwards bibliothecary of y^e^ Vatican library) who shew'd us one of the best collec-

tions of statues in Rome, to which he frequently talkes as if they were living, pronouncing now and then orations, sentences, and verses, sometimes kissing and embracing them. He has an head of Brutus scarr'd in the face by order of the Senate for killing Julius; this is much esteem'd. Also a Minerva and others of greate value. This gentleman not long since purchased land in the kingdome of Naples, in hope by digging y^e^ ground to find more statues; which it seemes so far succeeded as to be much more worth than y^e^ purchase. We spent the evening at the Chiesa Nova, where was excellent musiq; but before that began, the courteous fathers led me into a nobly-furnish'd library contiguous to their most beautifull convent.

28th. I went to see the garden and house of the Aldobrandini, now Cardinal Borghese's. This palace is, for architecture, magnificence, pompe and state, one of the most considerable about the citty. It has 4 fronts, and a noble piazza before it. Within the courts, under arches supported by marble columns, are many excellent statues. Ascending the stayres there is a rare figure of Diana of white marble. The St. Sebastian and Hermaphrodite are of stupendious art. For paintings, Our Saviour's Head by Coreggio; several pieces of Raphael, some of which are small; some of Bassano Veroneze; the Leda, and two admirable Venus's, are of Titian's pencill; so is the Psyche and Cupid; the Head of St. John borne by Herodias; two heads of Albert Durer, very exquisite. We were shewn here a fine cabinet and tables of Florence-worke in stone. In the gardens are many fine fountaines, the walls cover'd w^th^ citron trees, which being rarely spread, invest the stone-worke intirely; and towards the streete, at a back gate, the port is so handsomely cloath'd with ivy as much pleas'd me. About this palace are many noble



antiq bassi relievi, two especialy are placed on the ground, representing armor and other military furniture of the Romans; beside these, stand about the garden numerous rare statues, altars, and urnes. Above all, for antiquity and curiosity (as being the onely rarity of that nature now knowne to remaine) is that piece of old Roman paynting representing the Roman Sponsalia, or celebration of their marriage, judged to be 1400 yeares old, yet are the colours very lively and the designe very intire, tho' found deepe in the ground. For this morcell of painting's sake onely 'tis sayd that Borghesi purchased the house, because this being on a wall in a kind of banqueting house in y^e^ garden could not be removed, but passe with the inheritance.

Nov. 29th. I a second time visited the Medicean Palace, being neere my lodging, the more exactly to have a view of the noble collections y^t^ adorne it, especialy the bass relievi and antiq friezes inserted about the stone worke of the house. The Saturne of mettal standing in the portico is a rare piece; so is the Jupiter and Apollo in the hall. We were now led into those roomes above we could not see before, full of incomparable statues and antiquities; above all, and happly preferable to any in the world, are the Two Wrestlers, for the inextricable mixture w^th^ each others armes and legges is stupendious. In the greate chamber is the Gladiator whetting a knife; but the Venus is without parallel, being the masterpiece of whose name you see graven under it in old Greeke characters; nothing in sculpture ever approached this miracle of art. To this add Marcius, Ganymede, a little Apollo playing on a pipe; some relieui incrusted on the palace walls; and an antiq vasa of marble neare 6 foote high. Among the pictures may be mentioned the Magdalen and St. Peter weeping. I passe over the cabinets and tables

of pietra com'essa, being the proper invention of the Florentines. In one of the chambers is a whimsical chayre, which folded into so many varieties as to turn into a bed, a bolster, a table or a couch. I had another walk in the garden, where are two huge vasas or bathes of stone.

I went farther up the hill to the Pope's palace at Monte Cavallo, where I now saw the garden more exactly, and found it to be one of the most magnificent and pleasant in Rome. I am told the gardener is annualy alowed 2000 scudi for the keeping of it. Here I observ'd hedges of myrtle above a man's height; others of laurell, oranges, nay of ivy and juniper; the close walks, and rustic grotto; a crypta, of which the laver or basin is of one vast, intire, antiq porphyrie, and below this flows a plentifull cascade; the stepps of the grotto and the roofs being of rich Mosaiq. Here are hydraulic organs, a fish-pond, and an ample bath. From hence we went to taste some rare Greco, and so home.

Being now pretty weary of continual walking, I kept within, for the most part, till the 6th December, and during this time I entertain'd one Sign^r. Alessandro, who gave me some lessons on the theorba.

The next excursion was over the Tiber, which I crossed in a ferry-boate, to see the Palazzo di Ghisi, standing in Transtevere, fairely built, but famous onely for the painting a fresca on the volto of the portico towards the garden; the story is the Amours of Cupid and Psyche, by the hand of the celebrated Raphael d'Urbin. Here you always see painters designing and copying after it, being esteemed one of the rarest pieces of y^t art in the world, and with greate reason. I must not omit that incomparable table of Galatea (as I remember), so carefully preserved in the cupboard at one of the ends of this walke, to protect it from y^e aire, being a most lively

painting. There are likewise excellent things of Baldassare and others.

Thence we went to the noble house of the Duke of Bracciano, fairely built, with a stately court and fountaine.

Next we walked to St. Mary's church, where was the Taberna Meritoria, where the old Roman soldiers received their triumphal garland, which they ever after wore. The high altar is very faire, adorn'd with columnes of porphyrie: here is also some mosaic worke about y^e^ quire, and the Assumption is an esteem'd piece. It is sayd that this church was the first that was dedicated to the Virgin at Rome. In the opposite piazza is a very sumptuous fountaine.

12th. I went againe to St. Peter's, to see the chapells, churches, and grotts under the whole church (like our St. Faith's under Paules,) in which lye interr'd a multitude of Saints, Martyrs, and Popes; amongst them our countryman Hadrian IV. (Nicholas Breakspeare) in a chest of porphyrie; St. Jo: Chrysostom; Petronella; the heads of St. James Minor, St. Luke, St. Sebastian, and our Thomas à Becket; a shoulder of St. Christopher; an arme of Joseph of Arimathea; Longinus; besides 134 more Bishops, Souldiers, Princes, Scholars, Cardinals, Kings, Emperors, their wives, too long to particularize.

Hence we walk'd into the cemitery call'd Campo Santo, the earth consisting of severall ship loads of mould transported from Jerusalem, which consumes a carcasse in 24 houres. To this joynes that rare hospital, where once was Nero's Circus; and next to this is the Inquisition house and prison, the inside whereoff, I thanke God, I was not curious to see. To this joins his Holinesse's Horse-guards.

On Christmas eve I went not to bed, being desirous of seeing the many extraordinary ceremonies

performed then in their churches, as midnight masses and sermons. I walked from church to church the whole night in admiration at the multitude of sceanes and pageantry which the friers had with much industry and craft set out, to catch the devout women and superstitious sort of people, who never parted without dropping some money into a vessell set on purpose; but especialy observable was the pupetry in the church of the Minerva, representing the Nativity. I thence went and heard a sermon at the Apollinare, by which time it was morning. On Christmas day his Holinesse sang masse, the artillerie at St. Angelo went off, and all this day was expos'd the cradle of our Lord.

29th. We were invited by the English Jesuites to dinner, being their great feast of Thomas [à Becket] of Canterbury. We din'd in their common refectory, and afterwards saw an Italian comedy acted by their alumni before the Cardinals.

Jan. 1645. We saw passe the new officers of the people of Rome; especialy, for their noble habits were most conspicuous y^{e} 3 Consuls, now called Conservators, who take their places in the Capitol, having been sworne the day before betwene the hands of the Pope. We ended the day wth the rare musiq at the Chiesa Nova.

Jan. 6th. Was the ceremony of our Saviour's baptisme in the church of St. Athanasius, and at Ara Celi was a greate procession, del Bambino, as they call it, where were all the magistrates, and a wonderfull concourse of people.

7th. A sermon was preach'd to the Jewes at Ponte Sisto, who are constrain'd to sit till the houre is don; but it is with so much malice in their countenances, spitting, hum'ing, coughing, and motion, that it is almost impossible they should heare a word from the preacher. A conversion is very rare.

14th. The heads of St. Peter and St. Paul are expos'd at St. John Laterano.

15th. The zitelle, or young wenches, which are to have portions given them by the Pope, being poore, and to marry them, walked in procession to St. Peter's, where the Veronica was shew'd.

I went to the Ghetto, where the Jewes dwell as in a suburbe by themselues; being invited by a Jewe of my acquaintance to see a circumcision. I passed by the Piazza Judea, where their seraglio begins; for, being inviron'd w^th^ walls, they are lock'd up every night. In this place remaines yet part of a stately fabric, which my Jew told me had been a palace of theirs for the ambassador of their nation when their country was subject to the Romans. Being lead through the Synagogue into a privat house, I found a world of people in a chamber: by and by came an old man, who prepared and layd in order divers instruments brought by a little child of about 7 yeares old in a box. These the man layd in a silver bason; the knife was much like a short razor to shut into y^e^ haft. Then they burnt some incense in a censer, w^ch^ perfum'd the roome all the while the ceremony was performing. In the basin was a little cap made of white paper like a capuchin's hood, not bigger than the finger; also a paper of a red astringent powder, I suppose of bole; a small instrument of silver, cleft in the middle at one end to take up the prepuce withall; a fine linen cloth wrapped up. These being all in order, the women brought the infant swaddl'd, out of another chamber, and delivered it to the Rabbie, who carried and presented it before an altar or cupbord dress'd up, on which lay the 5 Bookes of Moses, and the Commandments a little unrowled; before this, with profound reverence, and mumbling a few words, he waved the child to and fro awhile; then he deliver'd it to another Rabbie,

who sate all this time upon a table. Whilst the ceremony was performing, all the company fell singing an Hebrew hymn in a barbarous tone, waving themselves to and fro, a ceremony they observe in all their devotions.—The Jewes in Rome all wear yellow hatts, live onely upon brokage and usury, very poore and despicable, beyond what they are in other territories of Princes where they are permitted.

Jan. 18th. I went to see the Pope's palace, the Vatican, where he for the most part keeps his Court. It was first built by Pope Simachus, and since augmented to a vast pile of building by his successors. That part of it added by Sixtus V. is most magnificent. This leads us into divers tarraces arched *sub dio*, painted by Raphael w^th^ y^e^ Historys of the Bible, so esteem'd, that artists come from all parts of Europe to make their studies from these designes. The foliage and grotesq about some of the compartments are admirable.[1] In another roome are represented at large, mapps and plotts of most countries in the world, in vast tables, with briefe descriptions. The stayres w^ch^ ascend out of St. Peter's portico into the first hall, are rarely contriv'd for ease; these leade into the hall of Gregory XIII. the walles whereof, halfe way to the roofe, are incrusted w^th^ most precious marbles of various colours and workes. So is also the pavement inlaid worke; but what exceeds description is y^e^ volta or rooff itselfe, which is so exquisitely painted, that 'tis almost impossible for the skilfullest eye to discerne whether it be the worke of the pensill upon a flatt, or of a toole cutt deepe in stone. The Rota dentata in this admirable perspective, on the left hand as one goes out, the Stella, &c. are things of art incomparable. Certainely this is one of the most superb and royall apartements in the

[1] Painted by John Udine, scholar of Raphael, from the designs of Raphael. Painter's Voyage of Italy, p. 17.

world, much too beautifull for a guard of gigantic Swissers, who do nothing but drinke and play at cards in it. Going up these stayres is a painting of St. Peter walking on the sea towards our Saviour.

Out of this I went into another hall, just before the chapell, called the Sala del Conclave, full of admirable paintings; amongst others is the Assassination of Colignij, the greate [Protestant] French Admiral, murder'd by y^e^ D. of Guise, in the Parisian massacre at the nuptials of Hen. IV. with Queen Margarite; under it is written, "Coligni et sociorum cædes:" on the other side, "Rex Coligi necem probat."

There is another very large picture, under which is inscribed,

"Alexander Papa III. Fredrici Primi Imperatoris iram et impetum fugiens abdidit se Venetijs; cognitum et à senatu perhonorificè susceptum, Othone Imperatoris filio navali prælio victo captoq; Fredericus pace facta supplex adorat; fidem et obedientiam pollicitus. Ita Pontifici sua dignitas Venet. Rep. beneficio restituta MCLXXVIII."[1]

This inscription I the rather took notice of, because Urban VIII. had caused it to be blotted out during the difference betweene him and that State; but it was now restor'd and refresh'd by his successor, to the greate honour of the Venetians. The Battaille of Lepanto is another faire piece here.

Now we came into the Pope's chapell, so much celebrated for the Last Judgment painted by M. Angelo Buonarotti. It is a painting in fresca upon a

[1] "Pope Alexander III. flying from the wrath and attack of the Emperor Frederick I. took shelter at Venice, where he was acknowledged, and most honourably received by the Senate. The Emperor's son Otho being conquered and taken in a naval battle, the Emperor, having made peace, became a suppliant to the Pope, promising faith and obedience. Thus his dignity was restored to the Pontiff by the aid of the Republic of Venice, MCLXXVIII."

dead wall at the upper end of the chapell, just over y^e^ high altar, of a vast designe and miraculous fancy, considering the multitude of naked figures and variety of posture. The roofe also is full of rare worke.—Hence we went into the sacristia, where were shew'd all the most precious vestments, copes, and furniture of y^e^ chapell. One priestly cope, with the whole suite, had been sent from one of our English Henrys, and is shewn for a greate rarity. There were divers of the Pope's pantofles that are kissed on his foote, having rich jewells embrodred on the instep, cover'd w^th^ crimson velvet; also his tyara, or triple crown, divers miters, crosiers, &c. all bestudded with precious stones, golde, and pearle, to a very great value; a very large crosse, carved (as they affirme) out of the holy wood itselfe; numerous utensils of chrystal, gold, achat, amber, and other costly materials for the altar.

We then went into those chambers painted w^th^ the Historys of the burning of Rome, quenched by the procession of a Crucifix; the victory of Constantine over Maxentius: St. Peter's delivery out of Prison; all by Julio Romana,[1] and are therefore cal'd the Paynters' Academy, because you always find some young men or other designing from them; a civility w^ch^ is not refused in Italy where any rare pieces of the old and best masters are extant, and w^ch^ is the occasion of breeding up many excellent men in that profession.

The Sala Clementina's Suffito is painted by Cherubin Alberti, with an ample landskip of Paul Brill's.

We were then conducted into a new gallery, whose sides were painted with views of the most famous places, towns, and territories in Italy, rarely don, and upon the roofe the chiefe acts of the Roman Church since St. Peter's pretended See there. It is

[1] A famous scholar of Raphael.

doubtlesse one of the most magnificent galleries in Europ.—Out of this we came into y^e^ consistory, a noble roome, the volto painted in grotesq, as I remember. At the upper end is an elevated throne, and a baldachino or canopy of state, for his Holinesse, over it.

From thence, through a very long gallery (longer, I think, then the French kings at the Louvre), but onely of bare walls, we were brought into y^e^ Vatican Library. This passage was now full of poore people, to each of whom, in his passage to St. Peter's, the Pope gave a mezzo grosse. I believe there were in number neer 1500 or 2000 persons.

This library is the most nobly built, furnish'd, and beautified of any in the world; ample, stately, light, and cherefull, looking into a most pleasant garden. The walls and roofe are painted, not with antiques and grotescs, like our Bodleian at Oxford, but emblems, figures, diagrams, and the like learned inventions, found out by the wit and industry of famous men, of which there are now whole volumes extant. There were likewise the effigies of the most illustrious men of letters and fathers of the church, with divers noble statues in white marble at the entrance, viz. Hippolitus and Aristides. The Generall Councills are painted on the side walls. As to y^e^ ranging of the bookes, they are all shut up in presses of wainscot, and not expos'd on shelves to the open ayre, nor are the most precious mix'd amongst the more ordinary, which are shew'd to the curious onely; such are those two Virgils written in parchment, of more then a thousand yeares old; the like a Terence; the Acts of y^e^ Apostles in golden capital letters; Petrarch's Epigrams, written with his owne hand; also an Hebrew parchment made up in the ancient manner, from whence they were first call'd Volumina, w^th^ y^e^ Cornua; but what we English do much enquire

after, the booke which our Hen. VIII. writ against Luther.[1]

The largest roome is 100 paces long; at the end is the gallery of printed books; then the gallery of the D. of Urban's librarie, in which are MSS. of remarkable miniature, and divers China, Mexican, Samaritan, Abyssin, and other Oriental books.

In another wing of the edifice, 200 paces long, were all the bookes taken from Heidelburg, of which the learned Gruter and other greate scholars had been keepers. These walls and volto are painted with representations of the machines invented by Domenico Fontana for erection of the obelisqs; and the true designe of Mahomet's sepulchre at Mecca.

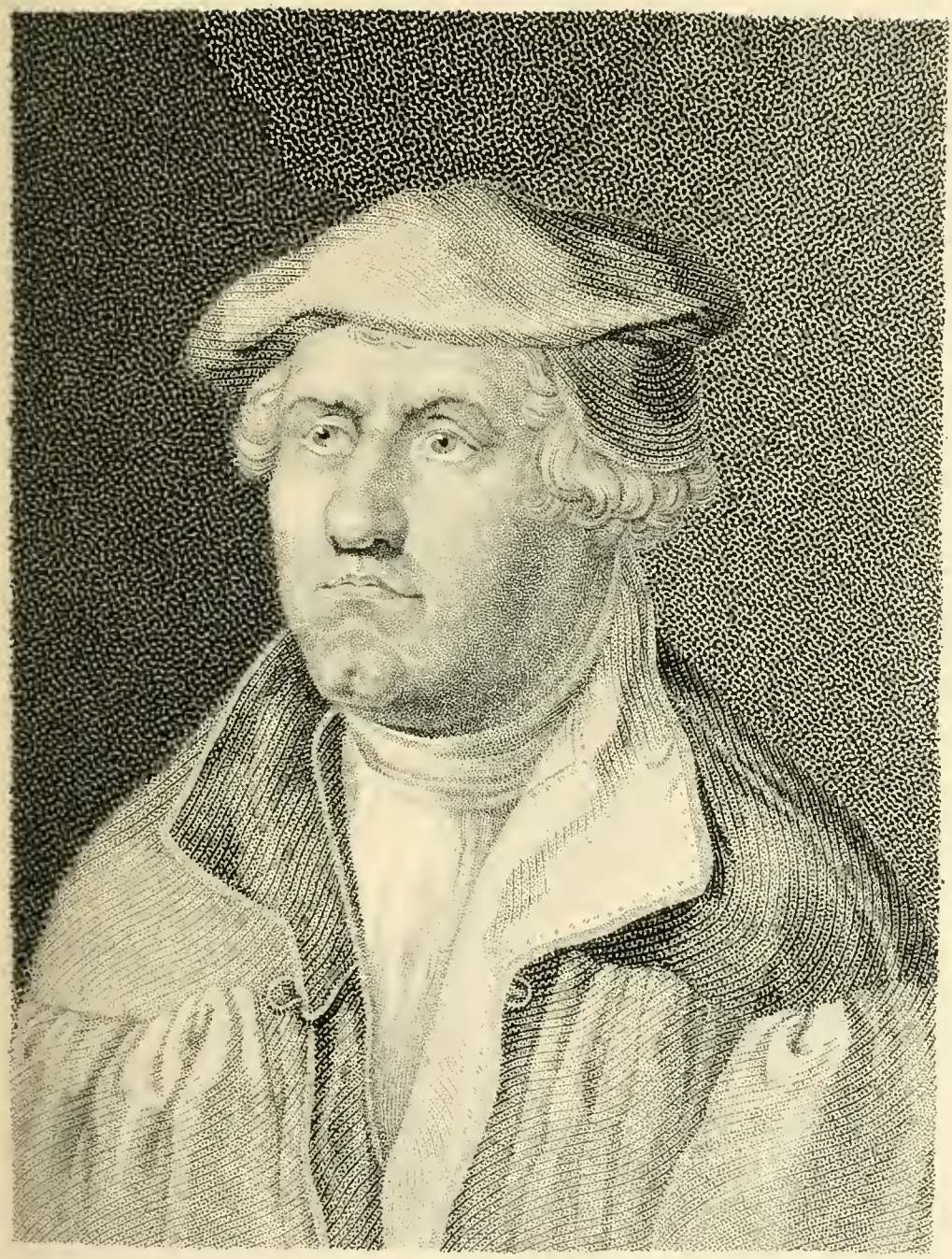
Out of this we went to see the Conclave, where, during a vacancy, the Cardinals are shut up till they are agreed upon a new election, the whole manner whereof was describ'd to us.

Hence we went into the Pope's Armory under the Library. Over the dore is this inscription:

"URBANUS VIII. LITTERIS ARMA, ARMA LITTERIS."

I hardly believe any Prince in Europ is able to shew a more compleately furnish'd library of Mars for the quality and quantity, w^ch^ is 40,000 compleate for horse and foote, and neately kept. Out of this we pass'd againe by the long gallery, and at the lower end of it downe a very large payr of stayres, round, without any stepps as usualy, but descending with an evennesse so ample and easy that a horse-litter or

[1] This very book, by one of those curious chances that occasionally happen, has recently been brought to England, where the Editor has seen it; and what is very remarkable, wherever the title of Defender of the Faith is subjoined to the name of Henry, the Pope has drawn his pen through the epithet. The name of the King occurs in his own hand-writing both at the beginning and end; and on the binding are the royal arms. The present possessor purchased it in Italy for a few shillings from an old bookstall.



MARTIN LUTHER.

Engraved by Thos. Hamilton from a contemporary Print by unkn

coach may w^th^ ease be drawne up; the sides of the vacuity are set w^th^ columns: those at Amboise on the Loire in France are something of this invention but nothing so spruce. By these we descended into the Vatican gardens cal'd Belvedere, where entring first into a kind of court, we were shew'd those incomparable statues (so famed by Pliny and others) of Laocoon with his three sonns embrac'd by an huge serpent, all of one entire Parian stone, very white and perfect, some what bigger then the life, the worke of those three celebrated sculptors Agesandrus, Polidorus, and Artemidorus, Rhodians; it was found amongst the ruines of Titus's Baths, and placed here. Pliny says this statue is to be esteem'd before all pictures and statues in the world; and I am of his opinion, for I never beheld any thing of art approch it. Here are also those two famous images of Nylus with the Children playing about him, and that of Tyber; Romulus and Rhemus with the Wolfe; the dying Cleopatra; the Venus and Cupid, rare pieces; the Mercury; Cybel; Hercules; Apollo; Antinous: most of which are, for defence against the weather, shut up in niches with wainscot dores. We were likewise shew'd the reliques of the Hadrian Moles, viz. the Pine, a vast piece of metall which stood on the summit of that mausoleum; also a peacock of coper supposed to have been part of Scipio's monument.

In the garden without this (w^ch^ containes a vast circuit of ground) are many stately fountaines, especialy two casting water into antiq lavors brought from Titus's Bathes; some faire grotts and water works, that noble cascade where the ship daunces, with divers other pleasant inventions, walkes, terraces, meanders, fruit-trees, and a most goodly prospect over the greatest part of the citty. One fountaine under the gate I must not omitt, consisting of three

jettos of water gushing out of the mouthes or proboscis of bees (the armes of the late Pope), because of the inscription :

Quid miraris Apem, quæ mel de floribus haurit?
Si tibi mellitam gutture fundit aquam.

23rd. We went without the walls of y^e^ citty to visite St. Paules, to which place 'tis sayd the Apostle bore his owne head after Nero had caus'd it to be cut off. The church was founded by the Greate Constantine; the maine roofe is supported by 100 vast columns of marble, and the Mosaiq worke of the greate arch is wrought with a very ancient story A° 440; as is likewise that of the faciata. The gates are brasse, made at Constantinople in 1070, as you may reade by those Greeke verses engraven on them. The church is neere 500 foote long and 258 in breadth, and has 5 great iles joyn'd to it, on the bases of one of whose columns is this odd title: "Fl. Eugenius Asellus C. C. Præf. Urbis V. S. I. reparavit." Here they shew'd us that miraculous Crucifix w^ch^ they say spake to St. Bridgit: and just before the Ciborio stand two excellent statues. Here are buried part of the bodyes of St. Paule and St. Peter. The pavement is richly interwoven w^th^ precious Oriental marbles about the high altar, where are also 4 excellent payntings, whereof one, representing the stoning of St. Stephen, is by the hand of a Bolognian lady named Lavinia. The tabernacle on this altar is of excellent architecture, and the pictures in the Chapel del Sacramento are of Lanfranchi. Diuers other reliques there be also in this venerable church, as a part of St. Anna; the head of the Woman of Samaria; the chayne w^ch^ bounde St. Paule, and the Eculeus us'd in tormenting the primitive Christians. The church stands in the Via Ostensis, about a mile from the walls of the citty, separated from any buildings neere it except the Tria Fontana,

to which (leaving our coach) we walked, going over the mountaine or little rising upon w^ch^ story says an hundred seaventy and 4 thousand Christians had been martyr'd by Maximianus, Dioclesian, and other bloody tyrants. On this stand St. Vincent's and Anastasius; likewise the church of St. Maria Scala del Cielo, in whose Tribuna is a very faire Mosaiq worke. The church of the Tre Fontane (as they are call'd) is perfectly well built tho' but small (whereas that of St. Paule is but Gotiq) having a noble cupola in the middle; in this they shew the pillar to which St. Paule was bound when his head was cut off, and from whence it made three prodigious leaps, where there im'ediately broke out the 3 remaining fountaines which give denomination to this church. The waters are reported to be medicinal; over each is erected an altar and a chayned ladle for better tasting of the waters. That most excellent picture of St. Peter's Crucifixion is of Guido.

25th. I went againe to the Palazzo Farnese, to see some certaine statues and antiquities w^ch^ by reason of the Major Domo not being within I could not formerly obtaine. In the hall stands that triumphant Colosse of one of the family, upon 3 figures, a modern, but rare piece. About it stood some Gladiators; and at the entrance into one of the first chambers are two cumbent figures of Age and Youth, brought hither from St. Peter's to make roome for the Longinus under the cupola. Here was the statue of a ram running at a man on horseback, a most incomparable expression of Fury cut in stone; and a table of pietra-com'essa very curious. The next chamber was all paynted a fresco by a rare hand, as was the carving in wood of the cieling, w^ch^ as I remember was in cedar as the Italian mode is, and not poore plaster as ours are; some of them most richly gilt. In a third roome stood the famous Venus, and the

child Hercules strangling a serpent of Corinthian brasse antiq, on a very curious bass-relievo; the sacrifice to Priapus; the Egyptian Isis in the hard black ophit stone taken out of the Pantheon, greately celebrated by the antiquaries: likewise two tables of brasse containing divers old Roman laws. At another side of this chamber was the statue of a wounded Amazon falling from her horse, worthy the name of the excellent sculptor, whoever the artist was. Neere this was a bass relievo of a Bacchanalia w^th^ a most curious Silenus. The 4th room was totally inviron'd with statues; especialy observable was that so renowned piece of a Venus looking backward over her shoulder, and divers other naked figures by the old Greeke masters. Over the doores are two Venus's, one of them looking on her face in a glasse by M. Angelo, the other is painted by Caracci. I never saw finer faces, especialy that under the masque whose beauty and art are not to be describ'd by words. The next chamber is also full of statues most of them y^e^ heads of Philosophers, very antiq. One of the Cæsars and another of Hannibal cost 1200 crownes. Now I had a second view of that never to be sufficiently admired gallery, painted in deepe relievo, the worke of 10 yeares study for a trifling reward. In the wardrobe above they shew'd us fine wrought plate, porcelan, mazers of beaten and solid gold set with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds; a treasure, especialy the workmanship considered, of inestimable value. This is all the Duke of Parma's. Nothing seem'd to be more curious and rare in its kind then the compleate service of the purest chrystal for y^e^ altar of the chapell, the very bell, cover of a book, sprinkler, &c. were all of the rock, incomparably sculptur'd with the holy story in deepe Levati; thus was also wrought the crucifix, chalice, vasas, flower-pots, the largest and

purest chrystall that my eyes ever beheld. Truely I looked on this as one of the greatest curiosities I had seene in Rome. In another part were presses furnish'd with antiq armes, German clocks, perpetual motions, watches, and curiosities of Indian workes. A very ancient picture of Pope Eugenius; a St. Bernard; and a head of marble found long since, suppos'd to be a true portrait of our B: Saviour's face.

Hence we went to see Dr. Gibbs, a famous poet and countryman of ours, who had some intendency in an Hospital built on the Via Triumphalis, called Christ's Hospital, w^ch^ he shew'd us. The Infirmitory where the sick lay was paved with various colour'd marbles, and the walls hung w^th^ noble pieces; the beds are very faire; in the middle is a stately cupola, under w^ch^ is an altar decked w^th^ divers marble statues, all in sight of the sick, who may both see and heare masse as they lie in their beds. The organs are very fine, and frequently play'd on to recreate the people in paine. To this joyns an apartiment destined for y^e^ orphans; and there is a schoole: the children weare blew like ours in London at an hospital of the same appellation. Here are 40 nurses who give suck to such children as are accidentally found expos'd and abandon'd. In another quarter are children of a bigger growth, 450 in number, who are taught letters. In another, 500 girles under the tuition of divers religious matrons, in a monastery, as it were, by itselfe. I was assur'd there were at least 2000 more maintain'd in other places. I think one appartiment had in it neere 1000 beds; these are in a very long roome having an inner passage for those who attend, with as much care, sweetenesse, and conveniency as can be imagin'd, the Italians being generaly very neate. Under the portico the sick may walke out and take y^e^ ayre. Opposite to this, are other chambers for such as are

sick of maladies of a more rare and difficult cure, and they have roomes apart. At y^e^ end of the long corridore is an apothecary's shop, faire and very well stor'd; neere which are chambers for persons of better quality who are yet necessitous. Whatever y^e^ poore bring is at their coming in deliver'd to a treasurer, who makes an inventory, and is accountable to them or their representatives if they dye. To this building joynes the house of the com'endator, who w^th^ his officers attending the sick make up 90 persons; besides a convent and an ample church for the friers and priests who daily attend. The church is extreamely neate, and the sacristia very rich. Indeede 'tis altogether one of the most pious and worthy foundations I ever saw: nor is the benefit small w^ch^ diuers young physitians and chirurgeons reape by the experience they learne here amongst the sick, to whom those students have free accesse. Hence we ascended a very steepe hill neere y^e^ Port St. Pancratio to y^t^ stately fountaine call'd Acqua Paula, being the aquæduct w^ch^ Augustus had brought to Rome, now re-edified by Paulus V.; a rare piece of architecture, and which serves the city after a journey of 35 miles, here pouring itselfe into divers ample lavors, out of y^e^ mouthes of swans and dragons, the armes of this Pope. Situate on a very high mount, it makes a most glorious shew to y^e^ citty, especialy when the sun darts on y^e^ waters as it gusheth out. The inscriptions on it are:

Paulus V. Romanus Pontifex Opt. Max. Aquæductus ab. Augusto Cæsare extructos, ævi longinquâ vetustate collapsos, in ampliorem formam restituit anno salutis M. D. CIX. Pont V.

And towards the feilds,

Paulus V. Rom. Pontifex Optimus Maximus, priori ductu longissimi temporis injuriâ penè diruto, sublimiorem . . . . . .

[One or more leaves are here wanting in Mr. Evelyn's MS. descriptive of other parts of Rome, and of his leaving the City.]

Thence to Velletri, a towne heretofore of the Volsci, where is a publiq and faire statue of P. Urban VIII. in brasse, and a stately fountaine in the streete. Here we lay, and drank excellent wine.

Jan. 28th. We dined at Sermoneta, descending all this morning downe a stony mountaine, unpleasant, yet full of olive-trees; and anon passe a towre built on a rock, kept by a small guard against y^e^ banditti who infest these parts, daily robbing and killing passengers, as my Lord Banbury and his company found to their cost a little before. To this guard we gave some mony, and so were suffer'd to passe, w^ch^ was still on y^e^ Appian to the Tres Tabernæ (wither the breathren came from Rome to meete St. Paule, Acts, c. 28); the ruines whereof are yet very faire, resembling the remainder of some considerable edifice, as may be judged by the vast stones and fairnesse of y^e^ arched worke. The country invironing this passage is hilly, but rich; on the right hand stretches an ample playne, being the Pomptini Campi. We repos'd this night at Piperno, in the post-house without the towne; and here I was extreamely troubled with a sore hand from a mischance at Rome, w^ch^ now began to fester, upon my base, unlucky, stiff-necked, trotting, carrion mule, which are in the world the most wretched beasts. In this towne was y^e^ poet Virgil's Camilla borne.

The day following we were faine to hire a strong convey of about 30 firelocks to guard us through the cork-woods (much infested w^th^ y^e^ banditti) as far as Fossa Nuova, where was y^e^ Forum Appii, and now stands a church with a greate monastry, the place where Thomas Aquinas both studied and lyes buried. Here we all alighted, and were most courteously received by the Monks, who shew'd us many reliques of their learned Saint, and at the

high altar the print forsooth of the mule's hoofe w^ch^ he caused to kneele before the Host. The church is old, built after the Gotiq manner; but the place is very agreeably melancholy. After this, pursuing the same noble [Appian] way (w^ch^ we had before left a little) we found it to stretch from Capua to Rome itselfe, and afterwards as far as Brundusium. It was built by that famous Consul, 25 foote broad, every 12 foote something ascending for the ease and firmer footing of horse and man; both the sides are also a little rais'd for those who travel on foote. The whole is paved with a kind of beach-stone, and, as I sayd, ever and anon adorn'd with some old ruine, sepulcher, or broken statue. In one of these monuments Pancirollus tells us, that in the time of Paul III. there was found the body of a young lady swimming in a kind of bath of precious oyle or liquor, fresh and entire as if she had been living, neither her face discolour'd, nor her haire disorder'd; at her feet burnt a lamp which suddenly expir'd at y^e^ opening of the vault; having flam'd, as was computed, now 1500 yeares, by the conjecture that she was Tulliola, the daughter of Cicero, whose body was thus found, and as the inscription testified. We din'd this day at Terracina, heretofore y^e^ famous Anxur, w^ch^ stands upon a very eminent promontory, the Cercean by name. Whilst meate was preparing I went up into y^e^ town, and view'd the faire remainders of Jupiter's Temple, now converted into a church, adorn'd with most stately columns; its architecture has ben excellent, as may be deduc'd from the goodly cornices, mouldings, and huge white marbles of which 'tis built. Before the Portico stands a pillar thus inscrib'd:

Inclyta Gothorum Regis monumenta vetusta
Anxuri hoc Oculos exposuere loco.

for it seems Theodoric drayn'd their marches.

On another more ancient :

Imp. Cæsar Divi Nervæ Filius Nerva Trojanus Aug. Germanicus Dacicus. Pontif. Max. Trib. Pop. XVIII. Imp. VI. Cos. V. p. p. XVIII. Silices suâ pecuniâ stravit.

Meaning, doubtlesse, some part of the Via Appia. Then,

Tit. Upio. Aug. optato Pontano Procuratori et Præfect. Classis.— Ti. Julius. T. Fab. optatus II vir.

Here is likewise a Columna Miliaria with something engraven on it, but I could not stay to consider it. Coming down againe I went towards the sea side to contemplate that stupendious strange rock and promontory, cleft by hand, I suppose, for the better passage. Within this is the Cercean Cave, which I went into a good way ; it makes a dreadfull noyse by reason of the roaring and impetuous waves continualy assaulting the beach, and that in an unusual manner. At the top at an excessive height stands an old and very greate castle. We ariv'd this night at Fondi, a most dangerous passage for robbing ; and so we pass'd by Galba's villa, and anon entred the kingdome of Naples, where at the gate this epigraph saluted us : " Hospes hic sunt fines Regni Neopolitani ; si amicus advenis, pacatè omnia invenies, et malis moribus pulsis, bonas leges." The Via Appia is here a noble prospect ; having before considered how it was carried through vast mountaines of rocks for many miles, by most stupendious labor : here it is infinitely pleasant, beset w^th^ sepulchres and antiquities, full of sweete shrubbs in the invironing hedges. At Fondi we had oranges and citrons for nothing, the trees growing in every corner, charged with fruite.

29th. We descried Mount Cæcubus, famous for the generous wine it heretofore produc'd, and so rid onward the Appian Way, beset with myrtils, lentiscus, bayes, pomegranads, and whole groves of orange-trees and most delicious shrubbs, till we

came to Formiana, where they shew'd us Cicero's Tomb standing in an olive grove, now a rude heap of stones, without forme or beauty; for here that incomparable orator was murther'd. I shall never forget how exceedingly I was delighted with the sweetnesse of this passage, the sepulchre mixed amongst all sorts of verdure; besides being now come within sight of the noble citty Cajeta [Gaieta], w^ch^ gives a surprising prospect along the Tyrrhen Sea in manner of a theater: and here we beheld that strangly cleft rock, a frightful spectacle, w^ch^ they say happen'd upon the passion of our Bl. Saviour; but the hast of o^r^ procaccio did not suffer us to dwell so long on these objects, and the many antiquities of this towne, as we desired.

At Formia [Gaieta] we saw Cicero's grott, dining at Mola, and passing Senuessa, Garigliano (once the citty Minterna), and beheld the ruines of that vast amphitheatre and aquæduct yet standing; the river Liris, w^ch^ bounded the old Latium, Falernus, or Mons Massicus, celebrated for its wine, now named Garo; and this night we lodged at a little village called Agatha, in the Falernian Feilds neere to Aurunca and Sessa.

The next day, having passed [the river] Vulturnus, we come by the Torre di Francolisi, where Hannibal, in danger from Fabius Maximus, escaped by debauching his enemyes; and so at last we enter'd the most pleasant plaines of Campania, now call'd Terra di Lavoro; in very truth, I thinke, the most fertile spot that ever the sun shone upon. Here we saw the slender ruines of the once mighty Capua, contending at once both with Rome and Carthage, for splendor and empire, now nothing but a heape of rubbish, except shewing some vestige of its former magnificence in pieces of temples, arches, theaters, columns, ports, vaults, colossas, &c. con-

founded together by the barbarous Goths and Longobards; there is however a new citty, neerer to y^e^ road by two miles, fairely rays'd out of these heapes. The passage from this towne to Naples (w^ch^ is about 10 or 12 English post miles) is as straight as a line, of great breadth, fuller of travelliers than I remember any of our greatest and most frequented roads neere London; but what is extreamely pleasing, is the great fertility of the feilds, planted with fruit-trees, whose boles are serpented with excellent vines, and they so exuberant that 'tis commonly reported one vine will load 5 mules with its grapes. What adds much to the pleasure of the sight is, that the vines, climbing to the summit of the trees, reach in festoons and fruitages from one tree to another, planted at exact distances, forming a more delightful picture than painting can describe. Here grow rice, canes for suggar, olives, pomegranads, mulberrys, cittrons, oranges, figgs, and other sorts of rare fruits. About the middle of the way is the towne Aversa, whither came 3 or 4 coaches to meete our lady-travellers, of whom we now tooke leave, having ben very merry by the way with them and the capitano their gallant.

Jan. 31st. About noone we enter'd the citty of Naples, alighting at the 3 Kings, where we found the most plentifull fare all the tyme we were in Naples. Provisions are wonderfully cheape; we seldom sat downe to fewer than 18 or 20 dishes of exquisite meate and fruites.

The morrow after o^r^ arival, in the afternoone, we hired a coach to carry us about the towne. First we went to the castle of St. Elmo, built on a very high rock, whence we had an entire prospect of y^e^ whole citty, which lyes in shape of a theatre upon the sea brinke, with all the circumjacent islands, as far as Capreæ, famous for the debauched recesses

of Tiberius. This fort is the bridle of the whole citty, and was well stor'd and garrison'd with native Spanyards. The strangenesse of the precipice and rarenesse of the prospect of so many magnificent and stately palaces, churches, and monasteries, w^th^ the Arsenall, the Mole, and Mount Vesuvius in the distance, all in full com'and of y^e^ eye, make it one of the richest landskips in the world.

Hence we descended to another strong castle, cal'd Il Castello Nuovo, which protects the shore, but they would by no intreaty permit us to go in; the outward defence seemes to consist but in 4 towers, very high, and an exceeding deepe graft with thick walls. Opposite to this is the Toure of St. Vincent, w^ch^ is also very strong.

Then we went to the very noble palace of the Viceroy, partly old and part of a newer work, but we did not stay long here. Towards y^e^ evening we tooke the ayre upon the Mole, a streete on the rampart or banke, rays'd in y^e^ sea for security of their gallys in port, built as that of Genoa. Here I observed a rich fountaine in the middle of the piazza, and adorn'd with divers rare statues of copper representing the Sirens or Deities of the Parthenope, spouting large streames of water into an ample shell, all of cast metall, and of great cost; this stands at the entrance of y^e^ Mole, where wee mett many of the nobility both on horseback and in their coaches to take the fresco from the sea, as the manner is, it being in the most advantageous quarter for good ayre, delight, and prospect. Here we saw divers goodly horses who handsomly become their riders, the Neapolitan gentlemen. This Mole is about 500 paces in length, and paved with a square hewn stone. From the Mole we ascend to a church, of great antiquity, formerly sacred to Castor and Pollux, as the Greeke letters carv'd on the architrave and the busts

of their two statues testify. It is now converted into a stately oratory by the Theatines.

The cathedrall is a most magnificent pile, and, except St. Peter's in Rome, Naples exceeds all cittys for stately churches and monasteries. We were told that this day the blood of St. Genuarius and his head should be expos'd, and so we found it, but obtained not to see the miracle of the boiling of this blood. The next we went to see was St. Peter's, richly adorn'd, the chapel especialy, where that Apostle sayd masse, as is testified on the walle.

After dinner we went to St. Dominic, where they shew'd us the crucifix that is reported to have sayd these words to St. Thomas, "Benè de me scripsisti Thoma." Hence to the Padri Olivetani, famous for the monument of the learned Alexand. ab Alexandro.

We proceeded the next day to visite the church of S^ta^ Maria Maggiore, where we spent much tyme in surveying the chapell of Joh. Jov. Pontanus, and in it the severall and excellent sentences and epitaphs on himselfe, wife, children, and friends, full of rare witt and worthy of recording as we find them in severall writers. In the same chapell is shew'd an arme of Titus Livius w^th^ this epigraph; "Titi Livij brachium quod Anton. Panormita a Patavinis impetravit, Jo. Jovianus Pontanus multos post annos hoc in loco ponendum curavit."

Climbing a steepe hill we came to the monastery and church of the Carthusians, from whence is a most goodly prospect towards the sea and citty, the one full of gallys and ships, the other of stately palaces, churches, monasteries, castles, gardens, delicious fields and meadows, Mount Vesuvius smoaking, the Promontory of Minerva and Misenum, Capreæ, Prochyta, Ischia, Pausilipe, Puteoli, and the rest, doubtlesse one of the most divertisant and considerable vistas in y^e^ world. The church is most

elegantly built: the very pavements of the common cloyster being all layd w^th^ variously polish'd marbles richly figur'd. They shew'd us a massie crosse of silver much celebrated for the workmanship and carving, and sayd to have been 14 yeares in perfecting. The quire also is of rare arte; but above all to be admir'd is the yet unfinish'd church of the Jesuites, certainly if accomplished not to be equal'd in Europe. Hence we pass'd by the Palazzo Caraffi, full of ancient and very noble statues: also the Palace of the Ursini. The next day we did little but visite some friends, English merchants resident for their negotiation; onely this morning at the Viceroy's Calvalerizzo I saw the noblest horses that I had ever beheld, one of his sonns riding the menage with that addresse and dexterity as I had never seene any thing approch it.

Feb. 4th. We were invited to the collection of exotic rarities in the museum of Ferninando Imperati, a Neapolitan nobleman, and one of the most observable palaces in the citty, the repository of incomparable rarities. Amongst the naturall herbals most remarkable was the Byssus marina and Pinna marina; the male and female cameleon; an Onacratulus; an extraordinary greate crocodile; some of the Orcades Anates, held here for a great rarity; likewise a salamander; the male and female Manucodiata, the male having an hollow in the back, in w^ch^ 'tis reported the female both layes and hatches her egg; the mandragoras of both sexes; Papyrus made of severall reedes, and some of silke; tables of the rinds of trees written w^th^ Japoniq characters; another of the branches of palme; many Indian fruites; a chrystal that had a quantity of uncongealed water within its cavity; a petrified fisher's net; divers sorts of tarantulas, being a monstrous spider with lark-like clawes, and somewhat bigger.

Feb. 5th. This day we beheld the Vice-king's procession, w^ch^ was very splendid for the reliques, banners, and musiq that accompanied the B. Sacrament. The ceremony tooke up most of the morning.

Feb. 6th. We went by coach to take the ayre, and see y^e^ diversions or rather maddnesse of the Carnival; the courtisans (who swarme in this citty to the number, as we are told, of 30,000, registred and paying a tax to y^e^ State) flinging eggs of sweete water into our coach as we passed by the houses and windows. Indeed the towne is so pester'd with these cattell, that there needes no small mortification to preserve from their enchantment, whilst they display all their naturall and artificiall beauty, play, sing, feigne compliment, and by a thousand studied devices seeke to inveigle foolish young men.

7th. The next day being Saturday we went 4 miles out of towne on mules to see that famous volcano Mount Vesuvius. Here we passe a faire fountaine cal'd Labulla, w^ch^ continually boyles, suppos'd to proceed from Vesuvius, and thence over a river and bridg, where on a large upright stone is engraven a notable inscription relative to the memorable eruption in 1630.[1]

Approching the hill as we were able with our mules, we alighted, crawling up the rest of the proclivity with great difficulty, now w^th^ our feete, now with our hands, not without many untoward slipps which did much bruise us on the various colour'd cinders w^th^ which the whole mountaine is cover'd, some like pitch, others full of perfect brimstone, others metaliq, interspers'd with innumerable pumices (of all w^ch^ I made a collection), we at the last gain'd the sum'it of an excessive altitude; turning our faces towards Naples, it presents one of the goodliest

[1] It may be seen at length in Wright's Travels, and in Misson's New Voyage to Italy, vol. i. p. 431.

prospects in the world; all the Baiæ, Cuma, Elysian Fields, Capreæ, Ischia, Prochita, Misenus, Puteoli, that goodly citty, with a great portion of the Tyrrhan Sea, offering themselves to your view at once, and at so agreeable a distance, as nothing can be more delightfull. The mountaine consists of a double top, the one pointed very sharp, and com'only appearing above any clouds, the other blunt. Here as we approch'd we met many large gaping clefts and chasms, out of which issued such sulphureous blasts and smoke, that we durst not stand long neere them. Having gain'd the very summit, I layd myself down to looke over and into that most frightfull and terrible vorago, a stupendious pit of neere three miles in circuit and halfe a mile in depth, by a perpendicular hollow cliffe (like that from the highest part of Dover Castle), with now and then a craggy prominency jetting out. The area at the bottom is plaine like an even'd floore, which seemes to be made by the winds circling the ashes by its eddy blasts. In the middle and center is a hill shaped like a greate browne loafe, appearing to consist of sulphurous matter, continualy vomiting a foggy exhalation, and ejecting huge stones with an impetuous noise and roaring like the report of many musquets discharging. This horrid Barathrum engaged our attention for some houres, both for the strangnesse of the spectacle and y^e^ mention which the old histories make of it, as one of the most stupendious curiosities in nature, and which made the learned and inquisitive Pliny adventure his life to detect the causes, and to loose it in too desperate an approch. It is likewise famous for the stratagem of the rebell Spartacus, who did so much mischiefe to the State, lurking amongst, and protected by, these horrid caverns, when it was more accessible and lesse dangerous than it is now; but especialy notorious it is for the last conflagration,

when, in an° 1630, it burst out beyond what it had ever don in the memory of history; throwing out huge stones and fiery pumices in such quantity as not onely inviron'd the whole mountaine, but totaly buried and overwhelm'd divers townes and their inhabitants, scattering the ashes more than an hundred miles, and utterly devastating all those vineyards where formerly grew the most incomparable Greco; when bursting through the bowels of the earth it absorb'd the very sea, and with its whirling waters drew in divers gallyes and other vessells to their destruction, as is faithfully recorded. We descended with more ease than we climb'd up, thro' a deepe vallie of pure ashes, w^ch^ at the late eruption was a flowing river of mealted and burning brimstone, and so came to our mules at the foote of the mountaine.

On Sunday we with our guide visited the so much celebrated Baiæ, and natural rarities of the places adjacent. Here we enter'd the mountaine Pausilipo, at the left hand of which they shew'd us Virgil's sepulchre erected on a steepe rock, in forme of a small rotunda or cupolated columne, but almost overgrowne with bushes and wild baye trees. At the entrance is this inscription:

Stanisi Cencovius.
1589.
Qui cineres? Tumuli hæc vestigia, conditur olim
Ille hoc qui cecinit Pascua, Rura, Duces.
Can. Rec MDLIII.[1]

After we were advanc'd into this noble and altogether wonderfull crypt, consisting of a passage

[1] Such is the inscription, as copied by Mr. Evelyn; but as its sense is not very clear, and as the Diary contains instances of incorrectness in transcribing, the Editor has thought it desirable to subjoin the distich said by Keysler in his Travels, vol. ii. p. 433, to be the only one in the whole mausoleum:

"Quæ cineris tumulo hæc vestigia? conditur olim
Ille hoc qui cecinit, pascua, rura, duces."

spacious enough for two coaches to go on breast, cut thro' a rocky mountaine neere three quarters of a mile, (by the ancient Cimmerii as reported, but as others say by L. Cocceius, who employ'd an hundred thousand men on it,) we came to the midway, where there is a well bor'd through the diameter of this vast mountaine, which admitts the light into a pretty chapel, hewn out of the natural rock, wherein hang divers lamps perpetualy burning. The way is pav'd under foote, but it does not hinder the dust, which rises so excessively in this much frequented passage, that we were forc'd at mid-day to use a torch. At length we were deliver'd from the bowels of the earth into one of the most delicious plaines in the world: the oranges, lemons, pomegranads, and other fruits, blushing yet on the perpetualy greene trees; for the summer is here eternal, caus'd by the natural and adventitious heate of the earth, warm'd through the subterranean fires, as was shewn us by our guide, who alighted, and cutting up a turf wth his knife, and delivering it to me, was so hot I was hardly able to hold it in my hands. This mountaine is exceedingly fruitfull in vines, and exotics grow readily. We now came to a lake of about two miles in circumference, inviron'd with hills; the water of it is fresh and swete on the surface but salt at botome, some mineral salt conjectured to be the cause, and 'tis reported of that profunditude in the middle that it is botomelesse. The people call it Lago d'Agnano from the multitude of serpents which involved together about the spring, fall downe from the cliffy hills into it. It has no fish, nor will any live in it. We tried the old experiment on a dog in the Grotto del Cane, or Charon's Cave; it is not above three or four paces deepe, and about the height of a man, nor very broad. Whatever having life enters it presently expires. Of this we made tryal with two doggs, one of

which we bound to a short pole to guide him the more directly into the further part of the den, where he was no sooner enter'd, but without the least noyse, or so much as a struggle, except that he panted for breath, lolling out his tongue, his eyes being fix'd; we drew him out dead to all appearance, but immediately plunging him into y^e^ adjoyning lake, within lesse than halfe an houre he recover'd, and swimming to shore ran away from us. We tried the same on another dogg without the application of the water, and left him quite dead. The experiment has been made on men, as on that poore creature whom Peter of Toledo caus'd to go in; likewise on some Turkish slaves; two souldiers, and other foole-hardy persons, who all perished, and could never be recover'd by the water of the lake as are doggs, for which many learned reasons have been offer'd, as Simon Majolus in his booke of the Canicular-dayes has mention'd, colloq. 15. And certainely the most likely is, the effect of those hot and dry vapours which ascend out of the earth and are condensed by the ambient cold, as appeares by their converting into chrystaline drops on y^e^ top, whilst at the botome 'tis so excessively hott that a torch being extinguished neere it, and lifted a little distance, was suddainely re-lighted. Neere to this cave are the natural stoves of St. Germain, of the nature of sudatories, in certaine chambers partition'd with stone for the sick to sweate in, the vapours here being exceedingly hot, and of admirable successe in the goute and other cold distempers of the nerves. Hence we climb'd up an hill, the very highway in several places even smoaking w^th^ heate like a fournace. The mountaines were by the Greekes called Leucoyei, and the fields Phlægrean. Hercules here vanquished the Gyants assisted with lightning. We now came to the Court of Vulcan, consisting of a valley neere a quarter of a mile in breadth, the mar-

gent inviron'd with steepe cliffs, out of whose sides and foote break forth fire and smoke in aboundance, making a noyse like a tempest of water, and sometimes discharging in lowd reports like so many guns. The heate of this place is wonderfull, the earth itselfe being almost unsufferable, and which the subterranean fires have made so hollow, by having wasted the matter for so many yeares, that it sounds like a drum to those who walke upon it; and the water thus struggling with those fires, bubbles and spoutes aloft into the ayre. The mouthes of these spiracles are bestrew'd with variously-colour'd cinders, which rise wth the vapour, as do many colour'd stones, according to the quality of the combustible matter, insomuch as 'tis no little adventure to approch them; they are however daily frequented both by sick and well, the former receiving the fumes, have been recover'd of diseases esteem'd incurable. Here we found a greate deal of sulphure made, which they refine in certaine houses neere the place, casting it into canes, to a very great greate value. Neere this we were shew'd a hill of alume, where is one of the best mineries, yielding a considerable revenue. Some flowres of brasse are found here; but I could not but smile at those who perswade themselves that here are the gates of purgatory, (for which it may be they have erected very neere it a convent and named it St. Januarius,) reporting to have often heard screeches and horrible lamentations proceeding from these caverns and vulcanos; with other legends of birds that are never seene save on Sundayes, which cast themselves into the lake at night, appearing no more all y^{e} weeke after.

We now approch'd the ruines of a very stately temple or theater, of 172 foote in length and about 80 in breadth, throwne downe by an earthquake not long since; it was consecrated to Vulcan, and under

the ground are many strange meanders, from w^ch^ it is named the Labyrinth; this place is so haunted with batts that their perpetual fluttering endanger'd the putting out our linkes.

Hence we passed againe those boiling and smoking hills till we came to Pozzuolo, formerly the famous Puteoli, the landing place of St. Paule when he came into Italy after the tempest described in the Acts of the Apostles. Here we made a good dinner, and bought divers medailes, antiquities, and other curiosities, of the country people, who daily find such things amongst the very old ruines of those places. This towne was formerly a Greeke colonie, built by the Samians, a reasonable commodious port, and full of observable antiquities. We saw the ruines of Neptune's temple, to whom this place was sacred, and neere it the stately palace and gardens of Peter de Toledo, formerly mentioned. Afterwards we visited that admirably built temple of Augustus, seeming to have ben hewn out of an intire rock, tho' indeede consisting of several square stones. The inscription remaines thus, "L. Calphurnius L. E. Templum Augusto cum ornamentis D.D." and under it; "L. Coccejus L. C. Postumi L. Auctus Architectus." It is now converted into a church, in which they shew'd us huge bones, w^ch^ they affirme to have ben of some gyant.

We went to see the ruines of the old haven, so compact with that bituminous sand in which the materials are layd, as the like is hardly to be found, though all this has not ben sufficient to protect it from the fatal concussions of several earthquakes (frequent here) which have almost demolish'd it, thirteen vast piles of marble onely remaining, a stupendous worke in the bosome of Neptune! To this joynes the bridg of Caligula, by which (having now embarqu'd ourselves) we sail'd to the pleasant Baiæ,

almost 4 miles in length, all which way that prowd Emperor would passe in triumph. Here we row'd along towards a villa of the orator Cicero's, where we were shew'd the ruines of his Academy, and at the foote of a rock his Bathes, the waters reciprocating their tides w^th^ the neighbouring sea. Hard at hand rises Mount Gaurus, being, as I conceiv'd, nothing save an heape of pumices, which here floate in aboundance on the sea, exhausted of all inflammable matter by the fire, w^ch^ renders them light and porous, so as the beds of niter w^ch^ lye deepe under them having taken fire dos easily eject them. They dig much for fancied treasure said to be conceil'd about this place. From hence we coasted neere the ruines of Portus Julius, where we might see divers stately palaces y^t^ had been swallow'd up by the sea after earthquakes. Coming to shore we passe by the Lucrine Lake, so famous heretofore for its delicious oysters, now producing few or none, being divided from y^e^ sea by a banke of incredible labour, the suppos'd worke of Hercules; 'tis now halfe chock'd up w^th^ rubbish, and by part of the new mountaine, which rose partly out of it, and partly out of the sea, and that in the space of one night and a day, to a very great altitude, on the 29th Sept. 1538, after many terrible earthquakes w^ch^ ruin'd divers places thereabout, when at midnight the sea retiring neere 200 paces, and yawning on y^e^ sudaine, it continued to vomit forth flames and fiery stones in such quantity as produced this whole mountaine by their fall, making the inhabitants of Pozzuole to leave their habitations, supposing the end of the world had ben come.

From the left part of this we walked to the Lake Avernus, of a round forme, and totally inviron'd w^th^ mountaines. This lake was fain'd by the Poete for the gates of hell, by w^ch^ Æneas made his descent,

and where they sacrificed to Pluto and the Manes. The waters are of a remarkable black colour, but I tasted of them without danger; hence they faigne y^t^ the river Styx has its source. At one side stand the handsome ruines of a temple dedicated to Apollo, or rather Pluto, but 'tis controverted. Opposite to this, having new lighted our torches, we enter a vast cave, in which having gon about two hundred paces, we passe a narrow entry which leads us into a roome of about 10 paces long, proportionable broad and high; the side walls and roofe retaine still the golden Mosaiq, though now exceedingly decay'd by time. Here is a short cell, or rather niche, cut out of y^e^ solid rock, somewhat resembling a couch, in which they report that the Sibylla lay and utter'd her oracles; but is supposed by most to have been a bath onely. This subterranean grott leads quite through to Cuma, but is in some places obstructed by the earth w^ch^ has sunk in, so as we were constrain'd back againe & to creep on our bellys before we came to the light. 'Tis reported Nero had once resolved to cut a channel for two greate galleys y^t^ should have extended to Ostia, 150 miles distant. The people now call it Licola.

From hence we ascended to y^t^ most ancient citty of Italy, the renowned Cuma, built by y^e^ Grecians. It stands on a very eminent promontory, but is now an heape of ruines. A little below stands the Arco Felice, heretofore part of Apollo's temple, with the foundations of divers goodly buildings; amongst whose heapes are frequently found statues and other antiquities, by such as dig for them. Neere this is the Lake Acherutia and Acheron. Returning to the shore we came to the Bagnie de Tritoli and Diana, w^ch^ are onely long narrow passages cut through the maine rock, where the vapours ascend so hot that entering w^th^ the body erect you will even faint w^th^

excessive perspiration, but stooping lower, as sudden a cold surprizes. These sudatories are much in request for many infirmityes. Now we enter'd the haven of the Baiæ, where once stood that famous towne, so call'd from the companion of Ulysses here buried; not without greate reason celebrated for one of the most delicious places that the sunn shines on, according to that of Horace:

Nullus in Orbe locus Baiis prælucet amœnis.

Though as to the stately fabrics there now remaine little save the ruines, whereof the most intire is that of Diana's temple, and another of Venus. Here were those famous pooles of lampreys that would come to hand when called by name, as Martial tells us. On the sum'ite of the rock stands a strong castle garrison'd to protect the shore from Turkish pyrates. It was once the retyring place of Julius Cæsar.

Passing by y^e^ shore againe we entered Bauli, observable from the monstrous murther of Nero com-'itted on his mother Agrippina. Her sepulchre was yet shew'd us in the rock, w^ch^ we enter'd, being cover'd with sundry heads and figures of beasts. We saw there the rootes of a tree turn'd into stone, and are continualy dropping.

Thus having view'd the foundations of the old Cimeria, the palaces of Marius, Pompey, Nero, Hortensius, and other villas and antiquities, we proceeded towards the promontory of Misenus, renown'd for y^e^ sepulchre of Æneas's Trumpeter. 'Twas once a greate citty, now hardly a ruine, sayd to have ben built from this place to the promontory of Minerva, 50 miles distant, now discontinu'd and demolish'd by the frequent earthquakes. Here was the villa of Caius Marius, where Tiberius Cæsar died; and here runs the Aquæduct, thought to be dug by Nero, a

stupendous passage, heretofore nobly arch'd w^th^ marble, as the ruines testifie. Hence we walked to those receptacles of water cal'd Piscina Mirabile, being a vault of 500 feet long, and 22 in breadth, the roofe prop'd up with 4 rankes of square pillars, 12 in a row; the walls are brick plaster'd over w^th^ such a composition as for strength and politure resembles white marble. 'Tis conceiv'd to have ben built by Nero, as a conservatory for fresh water; as were also the Centi Camerelli, into which we were next led. All these crypta being now almost sunke into y^e^ earthe, shew yet their former amplitude and magnificence.

Returning towards the Baiæ we againe passe the Elyssian Fields, so celebrated by the poetes, nor unworthily, for their situation and verdure, being full of myrtils and sweete shrubs, and having a most delightful prospect towards the Tyrrhen Sea. Upon the verge of these remaine the ruines of the Mercato di Saboto, formerly a Circus; over the arches stand divers urnes full of Roman ashes.

Having well satisfied our curiosity among these antiquities, we retir'd to our felucca, w^ch^ row'd us back againe towards Pozzuolo, at the very place of St. Paule's landing. Keeping along the shore they shew'd us a place where the sea-water and sands did exceedingly boyle. Thence to y^e^ island Nesis, once the fabulous Nymph; and thus we leave the Baiæ, so renowned for the sweete retirements of the most opulent and voluptuous Romans. They certainly were places of uncommon amœnitie, as their yet tempting site and other circumstances of natural curiosities easily invite me to believe, since there is not in the world so many stupendious rarities to be met with as in the circle of a few miles which inviron these blissfull aboades.

Feb. 8th. Returned to Naples, we went to see the

Arsenal, well furnish'd with gallies and other vessells. The citty is crowded with inhabitants, gentlemen and merchants. The government is held of the Pope by an annual tribute of 40,000 ducats and a white genet; but the Spanyard trusts more to the power of those his natural subjects there; Apulia and Calabria yielding him neere 4 millions of crownes yearely to maintaine it. The country is divided into 13 Provinces, 20 Archbishops, and 107 Bishops. The estates of the nobility, in default of the male line, reverting to the King. Besides the Vice-Roy there is amongst the Chiefe Magistrates an High Constable, Admiral, Chiefe Justice, Greate Chamberlaine, and Chancelor, with a Secretary; these being prodigiously avaricious, do wonderfully inrich themselves out of the miserable people's labour, silks, manna, sugar, oyle, wine, rice, sulphur, and alome, for wth all these riches is this delicious country blest. The manna falls at certain seasons on the adjoining hills in forme of a thick deuw. The very winter here is a summer, ever fruitefull, so that in the middle of February we had melons, cheries, abricots, and many other sorts of fruite.

The building of the citty is for the size the most magnificent of any in Europe, the streetes exceeding large, well paved, having many vaults and conveyances under them for the sullage, w^{ch} renders them very sweete and cleane even in the midst of winter. To it belongeth more than 3000 churches and monasteries, and those the best built and adorn'd of any in Italy. They greately affect the Spanishe gravity in their habite; delight in good horses; the streetes are full of gallants on horseback, in coaches and sedans, from hence brought first into England by Sir Sanders Duncomb. The women are generally well featur'd, but excessively libidinous. The country-people so jovial and addicted to musick, that the

very husbandmen almost universaly play on the guitarr, singing and composing songs in prayse of their sweethearts, and wil commonly goe to the field w^th^ their fiddle; they are merry, witty, and genial, all w^ch^ I much attribute to the excellent quality of the ayre. They have a deadly hatred to the French, so that some of our company were flouted at for wearing red cloakes, as the mode then was.

This I made the *non ultra* of my travels, sufficiently sated with rolling up and downe, and resolving within myselfe to be no longer an *individuum vagum* if ever I got home againe, since from the report of divers experienc'd and curious persons I had ben assur'd there was little more to be seene in the rest of the civil world, after Italy, France, Flanders, and the Low Countryes, but plaine and prodigious barbarisme.

Thus about the 7th of Feb. we sat out on our return to Rome by the same way we came, not daring to adventure by sea, as some of our company were inclin'd to do, for fear of Turkish pirates hovering on that coast; nor made we any stay save at Albano, to view the celebrated place and sepulchre of the famous duelists who decided the ancient quarrell betweene their imperious neighbours w^th^ the loss of their lives. These brothers, the Horatij and Curiatij, lye buried neere the highway, under two ancient pyramids of stone, now somewhat decay'd and overgrowne with rubbish. We tooke the opportunity of tasting the wine here, which is famous.

Being arriv'd at Rome on the 13th Feb. we were againe invited to Sign^r^ Angeloni's study,[1] where w^th^ greater leysure we survey'd the rarities, as his cabinet and medailles especialy, esteem'd one of the best collections of them in Europe. He also shew'd us two antiq lamps, one of them dedicated to Pallas, the

[1] See p. 128.

other Laribus Sacru', as appeared by their inscriptions; some old Roman rings and keyes; the Ægyptian Isis cast in yron; sundry rare bass-relievos; good pieces of paynting, principally the Christ of Correggio, w^th^ this painter's own face admirably don by himselfe; divers of both the Bassanos; a greate number of pieces by Titian, particularly the Triumphs; an infinity of naturall rarities, dry'd animals, Indian habits and weapons, shells, &c.; divers very antiq statues of brasse; some lamps of so fine an earth that they resembled cornelians for transparency and colour; hinges of Corinthian brasse, and one greate nayle of the same mettal found in the ruines of Nero's golden house.

In the afternoone we ferried over to Transtevere, to the palace of Gichi,[1] to review the works of Raphael: and returning by St. Angelo, we saw the castle as far as was permitted, and on the other side considered those admirable pilasters suppos'd to be of the foundation of the Pons Sublicius, over which Hor. Cocles pass'd; here ankor 3 or 4 water-mills invented by Belizarius: and thence had another sight of the Farnesi's gardens,[2] and of the tarrace where is that admirable paynting of Raphael, being a Cupid playing with a Dolphin, wrought à fresco, preserv'd in shutters of wainscott, as well it merites, being certainly one of the most wonderful pieces of worke in the world.

Feb. 14th. I went to S^ta^ Cecilia, a church built and endow'd by Card^l^ Sfrondæti, who has erected a stately altar neere the body of this martyr, not long before found in a vesture of silk girt about, a veile on her head, and the bloody scarrs of 3 wounds on the neck; the body is now in a silver chest, w^th^ her statue over it in snow-white marble. Other Saints lie here decorated with splendid ornaments, lamps, and in-

[1] See p. 158. [2] Ib. p. 118.

censories of greate cost. A little farther they shew us the Bathe of St. Cecilia, to w^ch^ joynes a convent of Friers, where is the picture of the Flagellation by Vanni, and the columns of the portico taken from the Bathes of Septimius Severus.

Feb. 15th. Mr. Henshaw and I walked by the Tyber and visited the Stola Tybertina (now St. Bartholomew's), formerly cut in the shape of a ship, and wharfed with marble, in which a lofty obelisq represented the mast. In the church of St. Bartholomew is the body of the Apostle. Here are the ruines of the Temple of Æsculapius, now converted into a stately hospital and a pretty convent. Opposite to it is the convent and church of St. John Calabita, where I saw nothing remarkable save an old broken altar. Here was the Temple of Fortuna Virilis. Hence we went to a cupola, now a church, formerly dedicated to the Sun. Opposite to it, S^ta^ Maria Schola Græca, where formerly that tongue was taught, said to be the second church dedicated in Rome to the Bl. Virgin, bearing also the title of a Cardinalat. Behind this stands the greate altar of Hercules, much demolish'd. Neere this, being at the foote of Mount Aventine, are the Pope's salt-houses. Ascending the hill we came to St. Sabina, an ancient fabric, formerly sacred to Diana; there in a chapel is an admirable picture, the work of Livia Fontana, set about with columns of alabaster, and in the middle of the church is a stone, cast, as they report, by the Devil at St. Dominic whilst he was at masse. Hence we travelled towards an heape of rubbish called the Marmorata on the bank of the Tyber, a magazine of stones, and neere which formerly stood a triumphal arch in honor of Horatius vanquishing the Tuscans. The ruines of the bridg yet appeare.

We were now got to Mons Testacæus, an heape of potshards almost 200 foote high, thought to have ben

amassed and thrown there by the subjects of the Commonwealth bringing their tribute in earthen vessells, others (more probably) that it was a quarter of the towne where potters lived ; at the sum'it Rome affords a noble prospect. Before it is a spacious greene called the Hippodrom, where Olympic games were celebrated, and the people muster'd, as in our London Artillerie-ground. Going hence to the old wall of the citty, we much admir'd the pyramid or tomb of C. Cestius, of white marble, one of the most ancient intire monuments, inserted in the wall, with this inscription :

"C. Cestius L. F. Pob. Epulo (an order of priests) Pr. Tr. pl. VII. Vir. Epulonum."

And a little beneath :

"Opus absolutum ex testamento diebus CCCXXX. arbitratu. Ponti P. F. Cla. Melæ Heredis et Pothi L."

At the left hand is the Port of St. Paule, once Tergemina, out of which the 3 Horatii pass'd to encounter the Curiatii of Albano. Hence bending homewards by St. Saba, by Antoninus's Bathes (which we enter'd) is the marble sepulchre of Vespasian. The thicknesse of the walls and stately ruines shew the enormous magnitude of these bathes. Passing by a corner of the Circus Maximus, we view'd the place where stood the Septizonium, demolish'd by Sixtus V. for feare of its falling. Going by M. Cœlius, we beheld the devotions of St. Maria in Navicula, so nam'd from a ship carv'd out in white marble standing on a pedestal before it, suppos'd to be the vowe of one escaped from shipwreck. It has a glorious front to the streete. Adjoining to this are the Horti Mathæi, which only of all the places about y^e^ citty I omitted visiting, tho' I was told inferiour to no garden in Rome for statues, ancient monuments,

aviaries, fountaines, groves, and especialy a noble obelisq, and maintain'd in beauty at an expense of 6000 crownes yearly, which if not expended to keepe up its beauty, forfeits the possession of a greater revenue to another family; so curious are they in their villas and places of pleasure, even to excesse.

The next day we went to the once famous Circus Caracalla, in the midst of which there now lay prostrate one of the most stately and ancient obelisks, full of Ægyptian hieroglyphics. It was broken into 4 pieces when o'erthrowne by the Barbarians, and would have been purchas'd and transported into England by the magnificent Thomas Earle of Arundel, could it have ben well removed to the sea. This is since set together and placed on the stupendous artificial rock made by Innocent X. and serving for a fountaine in Piazza Navona, the worke of Bernini, the Pope's architect. Neere this is the Sepulchre of Metellus, of massy stone, pretty entire, now cal'd Capo di Bove. Hence to a small oratorie nam'd Domine quo vadis, where the tradition is, that our B. Saviour met St. Peter as he fled, and turn'd him back againe.

St. Sebastian's was the next, a meane structure (the *faciata* excepted) but is venerable especialy for the reliques and grotts in w^ch^ lie the ashes of many holy men. Here is kept the pontifical chaire sprinkled w^th^ the blood of Pope Stephen, to w^ch^ greate devotion is paid; also a well full of martyr's bones, and the sepulchre of St. Sebastian, with one of the arrowes [used in shooting him]; these are preserved by the Fulgentine Monks, who have here their monasterie, and who led us down into a grotto which they affirm'd went divers furlongs under ground; the sides or walls w^ch^ we passed were fill'd with bones and dead bodies, laid as it were on shelfes, whereof some were shut up w^th^ broad stones, and now and then a crosse or a

palme cut in them. At the end of some of these subterranean passages were square roomes with altars in them, said to have been the receptacles of primitive Christians in the times of persecution, nor seems it improbable.

Feb. 17th. I was invited after dinner to the Academie of the Humorists, kept in a spacious hall belonging to Sign^r. Mancini, where the witts of the towne meete on certain daies to recite poems, and debate on severall subjects. The first y^t speakes is cal'd the Lord, and stands in an eminent place, and then the rest of the virtuosi recite in order. By these ingenious exercises, besides the learn'd discourses, is the purity of the Italian tongue daily improv'd. The roome is hung round with devises or emblemes, w^th mottos under them. There are severall other Academies of this nature, bearing like fantastical titles. In this of the Humorists is the picture of Guarini, the famous author of the Pastor Fido, once of this society. The cheife part of the day we spent in hearing the academic exercises.

Feb. 18th. We walked to St. Nicholas in Carcere; it has a faire front, and within are parts of y^e bodys of St. Mark and Marcellino; on the Tribuna is a painting of Gentileschi, and the altar of Caval. Baglioni, with some other rare paintings. Coming round from hence we passed by the Circus Flaminius, formerly very large, now totaly in ruines. In the afternoon we visited the English Jesuites, with whose Superior, P. Stafford, I was well acquainted; who received us courteously. They call their church and college St. Thomasso de gli Inglesi, and is a seminarie. Amongst other trifles they shew the relicques of Beckett, their reputed martyr. Of paintings there is one of Durante, and many representing the sufferings of severall of their society executed in England, especialy F. Campion.

In the Hospital of the Pelerini della S. Trinita I had seen the feete of many pilgrims wash'd by Princes, Cardinals, and noble Romans, and serv'd at table, as the ladys and noble women did to other poore creatures in another roome. 'Twas told us that no lesse than four hundred fourty-foure thousand men had ben thus treated in the Jubilee of 1600, and 25,500 women, as appears by the register, w^ch^ brings store of money.

Returning homeward, I saw the palace of Cardinal Spada, where is a most magnificent hall painted by Daniel da Volterra and Giulio Piacentino, who made the fret in the little Court; but the rare perspectives are of Bolognesi. Neere this is the Monte Pieta, instituted as a bank for the poore, who, if the sum be not greate, may have mony upon pawns. To this joynes St. Martino, to w^ch^ belongs a Schola or Corporation that do many works of charity. Hence we came through Campo di Fiori, or herb market, in the midst of which is a fountaine casting water out of a dolphin in coper; and in this piazza is common execution don.

19th. I went this afternoone to visite my Lord John Somerset, brother to the Marques of Worcester, who had his apartment in Palazzo della Cancellaria, belonging to Cardinal Francesco Barberini as Vice-chancellor of the Church of Rome, and Protector of the English. The building is of the famous architect Bramante, of incrusted marble, with 4 ranks of noble lights; the principal entrance is of Fontana's designe, and all marble; the portico within sustain'd by massie columns; on the second peristyle above, the chambers are rarely painted by Salviati and Vasari; and so ample is this palace that 6 Princes with their families have been receiv'd in it at one time, without incommoding each other.

Feb. 20th. I went (as was my usual costome) and

spent an afternoone in Piazza Navona, as well to see what antiquities I could purchase among the people who hold mercat there for medaills, pictures, and such curiosities, as to heare the Montebanks prate, and distribute their medicines. This was formerly the Circus or Agonales, dedicated to sports and pastimes, and is now the greatest mercat of y^e^ citty, having three most noble fountaines, and the stately palaces of the Pamfilij, St. Giacomo de Spagnoli belonging to that nation, to which add two convents for Friers and Nuns, all Spanish. In this church, was erected a most stately Catafalco, or Capella ardente, for the death of the Queene of Spaine; the church was hung with black, and heare I heard a Spanish sermon or funebral oration, and observed the statues, devices, and impreses hung about the walls, the church and pyramid stuck with thousands of lights and tapers, which made a glorious shew. The statue of St. James is by Sansovino; there are also some good pictures of Caracci. The *faciata* too is faire. Returning home I pass'd by the stumps of old Pasquin at the corner of a streete call'd Strada Pontificia; here they still paste up their drolling lampoons and scurrilous papers. This had formerly ben one of the best statues for workmanship and art in all the citty, as the remaining bust does still shew.

Feb. 21st. I walked in the morning up the hill towards the Capuchins, where was then Cardinal Onufrio (brother to the late Pope Urban VIII.) of the same order. He built them a pretty church, full of rare pictures, and there lies the body of St. Felix, that they say still does miracles. The piece at y^e^ great altar is by Lanfranc. 'Tis a lofty edifice, with a beautifull avenue of trees, and in a good aire. After dinner passing along the Strada del Corso, I observed the column of Antoninus, passing under Arco

Portugallo, which is but a relic, heretofore erected in honor of Domitian, cal'd now Portugallo from a Cardinal living neere it. A little further on the right hand, stands the column, in a small piazza, heretofore set up in honor of M. Aurelius Antoninus, comprehending in a basse-relievo of white marble his hostil acts against the Parthians, Armenians, Germans, &c. but it is now somewhat decay'd. On the su'mit has been placed the image of St. Paule, of gilded coper. The pillar is said to be 161 foote high, ascended by 207 steps, receiving light by 56 apertures, without defacing the sculpture.

At a little distance are the relicques of the Emperor's palace, the heads of whose pillars shew them to have ben Corinthian.

Turning a little down, we came to another piazza, in which stands a sumptuous vase of porphyrie, and a faire fountaine; but the grace of this merket, and indeede the admiration of the whole world, is the Pantheon, now called S. Maria della Rotonda, formerly sacred to all the Gods, and still remaining the most entire antiquitie of the citty. It was built by Marcus Agrippa, as testifies the architrave of the portico sustain'd by 13 pillars of Theban marble, 6 foote thick and 53 in height, of one entire stone. In this porch is an old inscription.

Entering the church, we admire the fabric, wholly cover'd with one cupola, seemingly suspended in the aire, and receiving light by a hole in the middle onely. The stricture is neere as high as broad, viz. 144 foote, not counting the thicknesse of the walls, w^{ch} is 22 more to the top, all of white marble, and til Urban VIII. converted part of the metall into ordnance to warr against the Duke of Parma, and part to make the high altar in St. Peters, it was all over cover'd with Corinthian brasse, ascending by 40 degrees within the roofe or covex of the cupola,

richly carved with octagons in the stone. There are niches in the walls, in w^ch^ stood heretofore the statues of Jupiter and the other Gods and Goddesses; for here was that Venus which had hung in her ear the other Union [1] that Cleopatra was about to dissolve and drink up as she had done its fellow. There are severall of these niches one above another for the celestial, terrestrial, and subterranean deities, but the place is now converted into a church dedicated to the B. Virgin and all the Saints. The pavement is excellent, and the vast folding gates of Corinthian brasse. In a word, 'tis of all the Roman antiquities the most worthy of notice. There lie interr'd in this Temple the famous Raphael da Urbino, Perino del Vaga, F. Zuccharo, and other painters.

Returning home we passe by Cardinal Cajetan's palace, a noble piece of architecture of Vincenzo Ammanatti, w^ch^ is the grace of the whole Corso.

Feb. 22nd. I went to Trinita del Monte, a monasterie of French, a noble church built by Lewis XI. and Charles VIII. the chapells well painted, especially that by Zuccari, Volterra, and the cloyster w^th^ the miracles of their St. Francis de Paulo and the heads of the French Kings. In y^e^ *pergolo* above, the walls are wrought with excellent perspective,

[1] And in the cup an *union* shall he throw,
Richer than that which four successive kings
In Denmark's crown have worn.
Shakspeare, Hamlet, Act v. Sc. 2.
ed. Johnson and Steevens.

Theobald says, an *union* is the finest sort of pearl, and has its place in all crowns and coronets. Steevens cites from Soliman and Perseda—"Ay, were it Cleopatra's *union*"—adding the following elucidation of the term from P. Holland's Translation of Pliny's Natural History: "And hereupon it is that our dainties and delicates here at Rome, &c. call them *unions*, as a man would say singular and by themselves alone." EDIT.

especialy the St. John; there are the Babylonish dials invented by Kircher the Jesuite. This convent, so eminently situated on Mons. Pincius, has the intire prospect of Campus Martius, and has a faire garden which joynes to the Palazzo di Medici.

23rd. I went to heare a sermon at St. Giacomo de gli Incurabili, a faire church built by F. Volaterra, of good architecture, and so is the hospital, where only desperate patients are brought. I pass'd the evening at St. Maria del Popolo, heretofore Nero's sepulchre, where his ashes lay many yeares in a marble chest. To this church joynes the Monasterie of St. Augustine, w^ch^ has pretty gardens on Mons Pincius, and in the church is the miraculous shrine of the Madona w^ch^ Pope Paul III. brought barefooted to the place, supplicating for a victory over the Turks in 1464. In a chapell of the Ghisi are some rare paintings of Raphael and noble sculptures. Those two in the choire are by Sansovino, and in the chapell de Cerasii a piece of Caravaggio. Here lie buried many greate scholars and artists, of which I tooke notice of this inscription:

> Hospes, disce novum mortis genus; improba felis,
> Dum trahitur, digitum mordet, et intereo.

Opposite to the *faciata* of the church is a superb obelisc full of hieroglyphics, the same that Sennesertus K. of Egypt dedicated to the Sun, brought to Rome by Augustus, erected in the Circus Maximus, and since placed here by Pope Sixtus V. It is 88 foote high, of one intire stone, and placed w^th^ greate art and engines by the famous Domenico Fontana.

Hence turning on the right out of the Porto del Popolo, we came to Justinian's gardens neere the Muro torto, so prominently built as threatning every

moment to fall, yet standing so for these thousand yeares. Under this is the burying-place of the com'on prostitutes, where they are put into the ground *sans ceremonie.*

Feb. 24th. We walked to St. Roches and Martines neere the brink of the Tyber, a large hospital for both sexes. Hence to the Mausolæum Augusti 'twixt the Tyber and the Via Flaminia, now much ruin'd, which had formerly contended for its sumptuous architecture. It was intended as a cemeterie for the Roman Emperors, had twelve ports, and was cover'd with a cupola of white marble, inviron'd with stately trees and innumerable statues, all of it now converted into a garden. We pass'd the afternoone at the Sapienza, a very stately building full of good marbles, especialy the portico, of admirable architecture. These are properly the Universitie Scholes, where lectures are read on law, medicine, and anatomie, and students perform their exercises.

Hence we walk'd to St. Andrea della Valle neere the former Theater of Pompey, and the famous Piccolomini, but given to this church and the Order who are Theatines. The Barberini have in this place a chapell, of curious incrusted marbles of severall sorts, and rare paintings. Under it is the place where St. Sebastian is said to have ben beaten with rods before he was shot with darts. The cupola is paynted by Lanfranc, an inestimable work, and the whole fabric and monastery adjoining are admirable.

Feb. 25th. I was invited by a Dominican Frier, whom we usually heard preach to a number of Jewes, to be god-father to a converted Turk and Jew. The ceremonie was perform'd in the church of S^{ta} Maria sopra la Minerva, neere the capitol. They were clad in white; then exorcis'd at their entering the church with abundance of ceremonies, and when led

into the choir were baptiz'd by a Bishop *in pontificalibus*. The Turk lived afterwards in Rome, sold hot waters, and would bring us presents when he met us, kneeling and kissing the hems of our cloaks; but the Jew was believed to be a counterfeit. This church, situate on a spacious rising, was formerly consecrated to Minerva. 'Twas well built and richly adorn'd, and the body of St. Catharine di Sienna lies buried here. The paintings of y^e^ chapel are by Marcello Venuti; the Madona over the altar is by Giov. di Fiesole, cal'd the Angelic Painter, who was of the Order of these Monks. There are many charities dealt publiqly here, especialy at the procession on the Annunciation, when I saw his Holinesse, with all the Cardinals, Prelates, &c. *in pontificalibus;* dowries being given to 300 poore girls all clad in white. The Pope had his tiara on his head, and was carried on men's shoulders in an open arm-chaire, blessing the people as he pass'd. The statue of Christ at the Columna is esteem'd one of the master-pieces of M. Angelo: innumerable are the paintings by the best artists, and the organ is accounted one of y^e^ sweetest in Rome. Cardinal Bembo is interred here. We return'd by St. Marc's, a stately church, with an excellent pavement, and a fine piece by Perugino, of the Two Martyrs. Adjoyning to this is a noble palace built by the famous Bramanti.

Feb. 26th. Ascending the hill we came to the Forum Trajanum, where his column stands yet intire, wrought with admirable bass-relievo recording the Dacian war, the figures at the upper part appearing of the same proportion with those below. 'Tis ascended by 192 steps, enlightened with 44 apertures or windows, artificialy dispos'd; in height from the pedestal 140 foote.

It had once the ashes of Trajan and his statue, where now stands St. Peter's of gilt brasse, erected

by Pope Sixtus V. The sculpture of this stupendious pillar is thought to be the work of Apollodorus; but what is very observable is the descent to the plinth of the pedestale, shewing how this ancient cittie lies now buried in her ruines; this monument being at first set up on a rising ground. After dinner we took the aire in Cardinal Bentivoglio's delicious gardens, now but newly deceas'd. He had a faire palace built by several good masters on part of the ruines of Constantine's Bathes: well adorn'd wth columns and paintings, especialy those of Guido Rheni.

Feb. 27th. In the morning Mr. Henshaw and my selfe walked to the Trophies of Marius, erected in honour of his victorie over the Cimbrians, but these now taken out of their niches are plac'd on the balusters of the capitol, so that their ancient station is now a ruine. Keeping on our way we came to St. Crosse of Jerusalem, built by Constantine over the demolition of the Temple of Venus and Cupid, which he threw down; and 'twas here they report he deposited the wood of the true Crosse found by his mother Helena, in honour whereof this church was built, and in memory of his victory over Maxentius when that holy signe appear'd to him. The edifice without is Gotiq, but very glorious within, especialy the roofe, and one tribune well painted. Here is a chapel dedicated to St. Helena, the floore whereoff is of earth brought from Jerusalem; the walls are of faire mosaic, in which they suffer no women to enter it save once a yeare. Under the high altar of the church is buried St. Anastasius, in Lydian marble, and Benedict VII. and they shew a number of reliques, expos'd at our request, with a phial of our B. Saviour's blood; two thornes of his crowne; three chips of the real crosse; one of the nailes, wanting a point; St. Thomas's doubting finger; and a fragment of the title [put on the cross], being part of a thin board;

some of Judas's pieces of silver; and many more, if one had faith to believe it. To this venerable church joynes a monasterie, the gardens taking up the space of an ancient amphitheater. Hence we pass'd beyond the walls out at the Port of St. Laurence to that Saint's church, and where his ashes are enshrin'd. This was also built by the same great Constantine, famous for the Coronation of Pietro Altisiodorensis, Emperor of Constantinople, by Honorius the Second. 'Tis sayd the corps of St. Stephen the proto-martyr was deposited here by that of St. Sebastian, which it had no sooner touch'd, but Sebastian gave it place of its own accord. The church has no lesse than 7 privileg'd altars and excellent pictures. About the walls are painted this martyr's sufferings, and when they built them, the bones of divers saints were translated to other churches. The front is Gotic. In our return we saw a small ruine of an aquæduct built by Q. Marcius the prætor; and so pass'd thro' that incomparable strait streete leading to S^ta^ Maria Maggiore, to our lodging, sufficiently tired.

We were taken up next morning in seeing the impertinences of the carnival, when all the world are as mad at Rome as at other places; but the most remarkable were the 3 races of the Barbarie horses, that run in the Strada del Corso without riders, onely having spurrs so placed on their backs, and hanging downe by their sides, as by their motion to stimulate them; then of mares, then of asses, of buffalos, naked men, old and young, and boys, and aboundance of idle ridiculous passetime. One thing is remarkable, their acting comedies on a stage placed on a cart, or *plaustrum*, where the scene or tiring-place is made of boughs in a rural manner, which they drive from streete to streete with a yoake or two of oxen, after the ancient guise. The streetes swarm w^th^ prostitutes, buffoones, and all man'er of rabble.

March 1st. At the Greeke church we saw y^e^ Eastern ceremonies perform'd by a Bishop, &c. in that tongue. Here the unfortunate Duke and Dutchess of Bullion received their ashes, it being the first day of Lent; there was now as much trudging up and downe of devotees as the day before of licentious people, all saints alike to appearance.

The gardens of Justinian, which we next visited, are very full of statues and antiquities, especialy urnes; amongst which is that of Min. Felix; a Terminus that formerly stood in the Appian way, and a huge colosse of the Emperor Justinian. There is a delicate aviarie on the hill; the whole gardens furnish'd with rare collections, fresh, shady, and adorn'd w^th^ noble fountaines. Continuing our walke a mile farther, we came to Pons Milvius, now Mela, where Constantine overthrew Maxentius, and saw the miraculous signe of the crosse, *in hoc signo vinces*. It was a sweete morning, and the bushes were full of nightingals. Hence to Aqua Claudia againe, an aqueduct finish'd by that Emperor at the expence of 8 millions. In the afternoone to Farneze's gardens, neere the Campo Vaccino; and upon the Palatine Mount to survey the ruines of Juno's Temple in the Piscina, a piazza so call'd neere the famous bridg built by Antoninus Pius and re-edified by Pope Sixtus IV.

The rest of this weeke we went to the Vatican, to heare the sermons at St. Peter's of the most famous preachers, who discourse on the same subjects and texts yearely, full of Italian eloquence and action. On our Lady-day, 25 March, we saw the Pope and Cardinals ride in pomp to the Minerva, the greate guns of the Castle St. Angelo being fired, when he gives portions to 500 *zitelle* [young women], who kisse his feete in procession, some destin'd to marry, some to be nunns. The scholars of the colledge celebrating the B. Virgin with their compositions. The

next day his Holinesse was busied in blessing golden roses, to be sent to severall greate Princes; the Procurator of the Carmelites preaching on our Saviour's feeding the multitude with 5 loaves, the ceremony ends. The Sacrament being this day expos'd, and the reliques of the Holy Crosse, the concourse about the streetes is extraordinarie. On Palm Sunday there was a greate procession after a papal masse.

April 11th. St. Veronica's handkercheif [with the impression of our Saviour's face] was expos'd, and the next day the speare, with a world of ceremonie. On Holy Thursday the Pope said masse, and afterwards carried the Host in procession about the chapell, with an infinitie of tapers; this finish'd, his Holinesse was carried in his open chaire on men's shoulders to the place where, reading the Bull *in Cœna Domini*, he both curses and blesses all in a breath; then the guns are againe fired. Hence he went to the Ducal hall of the Vatican, where he washed the feete of 12 poore men, with almost the same ceremonie as 'tis don at Whitehall; they have clothes, a dinner, and almes, w^{ch} he gives with his owne hands, and serves at their table; they have also gold and silver medailles, but their garments are of white wollen long robes, as we paint the Apostles. The same ceremonies are don by y^{e} Conservators and other officers of state at St. John de Lateran; and now the table on w^{ch} they say our Blessed Lord celebrated his last supper is set out, and the heads of the Apostles. In every famous church they are busy in dressing up their pageantries to represent the Holy Sepulchre, of which we went to visite divers.

On Good Friday we went againe to St. Peter's, where the handkerchief, launce, and crosse were all expos'd and worshipp'd together. All the confession seates were fill'd with devout people, and at night was a procession of several who most lament-

ably whipped themselves till the blood stained their clothes, for some had shirts, others upon the bare back, having vizors and masks on their faces; at every 3 or 4 steps dashing the knotted and ravelled whipcord over their shoulders, as hard as they could lay it on, whilst some of the religious orders and fraternities sung in a dismal tone, the lights and crosses going before, making altogether a horrible and indeede heathenish pompe.

The next day, there was much ceremony at St. John de Lateran, so as the whole weeke was spent in running from church to church, all the towne in buisy devotion, greate silence, and unimaginable superstition.

Easter-day, I was awaken'd by the guns from St. Angelo: we went to St. Peter's, where the Pope himselfe celebrated masse, shew'd the reliques before named, and gave a publiq benediction.

Monday, we went to heare music in the Chiesa Nova, and tho' there were aboundance of ceremonies at the other greate churches, and greate exposure of reliques, yet being wearied with sights of this nature, and the season of the yeare, summer, at Rome being very dangerous by reason of the heates, minding us of returning northwards, we spent the rest of our time in visiting such places as we had not yet sufficiently seene; onely I do not forget the Pope's benediction of the *confalone*, or standard, and giving the hallowed palmes; and on May-day the greate procession of the Universitie and the muletiers at St. Antonie's, and their setting up a foolish May-pole in the capitol, very ridiculous. We therefore now tooke coach a little out of towne, to visite the famous Roma Soterranea, being much like what we had seen at Sebastian's. Here in a corn-field, guided by two torches, we crept on our bellies into a little hole, about 20 paces, which delivered us into

a large entrie that led us into several streetes or allies, a good depth in the bowells of the earth, a strange and fearefull passage for divers miles, as Bosio has measured and described them in his book.[1] We ever and anon came into pretty square roomes, that seem'd to be chapells with altars, and some adorn'd with very ordinary ancient painting. Many skeletons and bodies are plac'd on the sides one above the other in degrees like shelves, whereof some are shut up with a coarse flat stone, having ingraven on them *Pro Christo*, or a crosse and palmes, w^ch^ are supposed to have been martyrs. Here, in all likelyhood, were the meetings of the primitive Christians during the persecutions, as Pliny the younger describes them. As I was prying about, I found a glasse phiale, fill'd as was conjectured with dried blood, and 2 lachrymatories. Many of the bodies, or rather bones (for there appear'd nothing else) lay so intire as if plac'd by the art of the chirurgeon, but being only touch'd fell all to dust. Thus after wandering two or three miles in this subterranean meander, we return'd almost blind when we came into the day-light, and even choked by the smoake of the torches. It is said that a French bishop and his retinue adventuring too far in these denns, their lights going out, were never heard of more.

We were entertain'd at night, with an English play at the Jesuites, where we before had dined; and the next day at Prince Galicano's, who himself composed the musiq to a magnificent opera, where were present Cardinal Pamphilio, the Pope's nephew, the Governors of Rome, the cardinals, ambassadors, ladies, and a number of nobility and strangers. There had been in the morning a just and tournament of severall young gentlemen on a formal defy, to which we had been invited; the prizes being distributed by the

[1] Intituled, Roma Sotteranea, folio, Rom. 1632.

ladies after the knight-errantry way. The launcers and swordsmen running at tilt against the barriers, with a greate deale of clatter, but without any blood-shed, giving much diversion to the spectators, and was new to us travellers.

The next day, Mr. Henshaw and I spent the morning in attending the entrance and cavalcade of Card. Medici, the ambass^r^ from the Grand Duke of Florence, by the Via Flaminia. After dinner we went again to the villa Borghesi, about a mile without the cittie; the garden is rather a park or paradise, contriv'd and planted with walkes and shades of myrtils, cypresse and other trees and groves, with aboundance of fountaines, statues, and bass-relievos, and several pretty murmuring rivulets. Here they had hung large netts to catch wood-cocks. There was also a *vivarie*, where amongst other exotic fowles was an ostridge; besides a most capacious aviarie; and in another inclosed part, an herd of deere. Before the palace (which might become the court of a great prince) stands a noble fountaine of white marble, inrich'd with statues. The outer walls of the house are incrusted with excellent antique basse-relievos of the same marble, incornish'd with festoons and niches set with statues from the foundation to the roofe. A stately portico joynes the palace, full of statues and columns of marble, urnes and other curiosities of sculpture. In the first hall were the 12 Cæsars of antiq marble, and the whole apartments furnish'd with pictures of the most celebrated masters, and two rare tables of porphyrie of greate value. But of this already;[1] for I often visited this delicious place.

This night were glorious fire-works at the palace of Card. Medici before the gate, and lights of severall colours all about the windows through the cittie,

[1] See p. 137.

which they contrive by setting the candles in little paper lanterns dyed with various colours, placing hundreds of them from storie to storie, which renders a gallant shew.

May 4th. Having seen the entrie of y^e^ ambass^r^ of Lucca, I went to the Vatican, where, by favour of our Cardinal Protector, Fran. Barberini, I was admitted into the consistorie, heard the ambass^r^ make his oration in Latine to the Pope, sitting on an elevated state or throne, and changing two pontifical miters; after which I was presented to kisse his toe, that is, his embroder'd slipper, two Cardinals holding up his vest and surplice, and then being sufficiently bless'd with his thumb and two fingers for that day, I return'd home to dinner.

We went againe to see the medails of Sig^r^ Gotefredi, which are absolutely the best collection in Rome.

Passing the Ludovisia Villa, where the petrified human figure lies, found on the snowy Alps; I measured the hydra, and found it not a foot long; the three necks and 15 heads seeme to be but patch'd up with several pieces of serpents skins.

May 5th. We tooke coach, and went 15 miles out of the cittie to Frascati, formerly Tusculanum, a villa of Card^l^ Aldobrandini, built for a country-house, but surpassing, in my opinion, the most delicious places I ever beheld for its situation, elegance, plentifull water, groves, ascents, and prospects. Just behind the palace (w^ch^ is of excellent architecture) in the center of y^e^ inclosure, rises an high hill or mountaine all over clad with tall wood, and so form'd by nature as if it had been cut out by art, from the sum'it whereof falls a cascade, seeming rather a greate river than a streame precipitating into a large theater of water, representing an exact and perfect rainebow when the sun shines out. Under this is

made an artificiall grott, wherein are curious rocks, hydraulic organs, and all sorts of singing birds, moving and chirping by force of the water, with severall other pageants and surprising inventions. In the center of one of these roomes, rises a coper ball that continually daunces about 3 foote above the pavement, by virue of a wind conveyed secretely to a hole beneath it; with many other devices to wett the unwary spectators, so that one can hardly step without wetting to the skin. In one of these theaters of water is an Atlas spouting up the streame to a very great height; and another monster makes a terrible roaring with an horn; but above all, the representation of a storm is most naturall, with such fury of rain, wind, and thunder, as one would imagine ones self in some extreame tempest. The garden has excellent walkes and shady groves, abundance of rare fruit, oranges, lemons, &c. and the goodly prospect of Rome, above all description, so as I do not wonder that Cicero and others have celebrated this place with such encomiums. The palace is indeed built more like a cabinet than any thing compos'd of stone and mortar; it has in the middle a hall furnish'd with excellent marbles and rare pictures, especially those of Gioseppo d'Arpino; the moveables are princely and rich. This was the last piece of architecture finish'd by Giacomo de la Porta, who built it for Pietro Card[l] Aldobrandini in the time of Clement VIII.[1]

We went hence to another house and garden not far distant, on the side of a hill call'd Mondragone, finish'd by Card[l] Scipio Borghese, an ample and kingly edifice. It has a very long galerie, and at the end a theater for pastimes, spacious courts, rare grotts, vineyards, olive grounds, groves, and solitudes. The

[1] Cardinal Hippolito Aldobrandini was elected Pope in January 1592, by the name of Clement VIII. and died in March 1605.

aire is so fresh and sweete, as few parts of Italy exceed it; nor is it inferior to any palace in the cittie itselfe for statues, pictures, and furniture; but it growing late we could not take such particular notice of these things as they deserv'd.

May 6th. We rested ourselves; and next day in a coach tooke our last farewell of visiting the circumjacent places, going to Tivoli or the old Tyburtine. At about 6 miles from Rome we passe the Teverone, a bridge built by Mammea y^e^ mother of Severus, and so by divers ancient sepulchres, amongst others that of Valerius Volusi; and neere it passe the stinking sulphurous river over the Ponte Lucano, where we found an heape or turret full of inscriptions, now called the Tomb of Plautius. Arriv'd at Tivoli, we went first to see the Palace d'Esté erected on a plaine, but where was formerly an hill. The palace is very ample and stately. In the garden on the right hand are 16 vast conchas of marble jetting out waters; in the midst of these stands a Janus quadrifons, y^t^ cast forth 4 girandolas, call'd from the resemblance [to a particular exhibition in fireworks so named] the Fontana di Speccho [looking-glass]. Neere this is a place for tilting. Before the ascent of y^e^ palace is the famous fountaine of Leda, and not far from that, foure sweete and delicious gardens. Descending thence are two pyramids of water, and in a grove of trees neere it the fountaines of Tethys, Esculapius, Arethusa, Pandora, Pomona, and Flora; then the prancing Pegasus, Bacchus, the Grott of Venus, the two Colosses of Melicerta and Sibylla Tibertina, all of exquisite marble, coper, and other suitable adornements. The Cupids pouring out water are especialy most rare, and the urnes on which are placed the 10 nymphs. The grotts are richly pav'd w^th^ pietra-commessa, shells, corall, &c.

Towards Roma Triumphans leades a long and

spacious walk, full of fountaines, under which is historized the whole Ovidian Metamorphosis in rarely sculptur'd *mezzo relievo*. At the end of this, next the wall, is y^e^ cittie of Rome as it was in its beauty, of small models, representing that cittie, with its amphitheaters, naumachia, thermæ, temples, arches, aqueducts, streetes, and other magnificences, with a little streame running thro' it for the Tyber, gushing out of an urne next the statue of y^e^ river. In another garden is a noble aviarie, the birds artificial, and singing till an owle appeares, on which they suddainly change their notes. Near this is the fountaine of Dragons casting out large streames of water with great noise. In another grotto called Grotto di Natura, is an hydraulic organ ; and below this are divers stews and fish-pounds, in one of which is the statue of Neptune in his chariot on a sea horse, in another a Triton ; and lastly a garden of simples. There are besides in the palace many rare statues and pictures, bedsteds richly inlaied, and sundry other precious moveables ; the whole is said to have cost the best part of a million. Having gratified our curiositie with these artificial miracles, and din'd, we went to see the so famous natural precipice and cascade of the river Anio, rushing down from the mountaines of Tivoli with that fury that, what with the mist it perpetualy casts up by the breaking of the water against the rocks, and what with the sun shining on it and forming a natural Iris, the prodigious depth of the gulph below, it is enough to astonish one that lookes on it. Upon the sum'ite of this rock stand the ruines and some pillars and cornishes of the temple of Sibylla Tybertina, or Albunea, a round fabric, still discovering some of its pristine beauty. Here was a greate deale of gunpowder drying in the sun, and a little beneath, mills belonging to the Pope.

And now we returned to Rome. By the way we were shew'd at some distance the citty Præneste, and the Hadrian villa, now onely an heape of ruines; and so came late to our lodging.

We now determined to desist from visiting any more curiosities, except what should happen to come in our way, when my companion Mr. Henshaw or myself should go to take the aire: onely I may not omit that one afternoone, diverting ourselves in the Piazza Navona, a montebank there to allure curious strangers, taking off a ring from his finger, w^ch^ seemed set with a dull, darke stone, a little swelling out, like w^t^ we call (tho' untruly) a toadstone, and wetting his finger a little in his mouth and then touching it, it emitted a luculent flame as bright and large as a small wax candle; then blowing it out, repeated this several times. I have much regretted that I did not purchase the receipt of him for making that composition at what price soever; for tho' there is a processe in Jo. Baptista Porta and others how to do it. yet on severall trials they none of them have succeeded.

Amongst other observations I made in Rome are these: as to coins and medails, 10 *asses* make the Roman *denarius*, 5 the *quinarius*, 10 *denarii* an *aureus;* which accompt runs almost exactly w^th^ what is now in use of *quatrini*, *baiocs*, *julios*, and *scudi*, each exceeding the other in the proportion of ten. The *sestertius* was a small silver coyne marked II. S. or rather LL^s^, valu'd 2 pound and half of silver, viz. 250 *denarii*, about 25 golden *ducati*. The stamp of the Roman *denarius* varied, having sometimes a Janus bifrons, the head of Roma armed, or with a chariot and two horses, which were called *bigi;* if with 4, *quadrigi;* if with a Victoria, so nam'd. The marke of the *denarius* was distinguished ≻|≺ thus, or X; the *quinarius* of halfe value, had on one side y^e^

head of Rome and V, the reverse Castor and Pollux on horseback, inscribed *Roma*, &c.

I observ'd that in the Greek church they made the signe of the crosse from the right hand to the left; contrary to the Latines and the schismatic Greekes; gave the benediction with the first, second, and little finger stretched out, retaining the third bent down, expressing a distance of the third Person of the Holy Trinity from the first two.

For sculptors and architects, we found Bernini and Algardi were in the greatest esteeme; Fiamingo as a statuary, who made the Andrea in St. Peter's, and is said to have died madd because it was placed in an ill light. Amongst the painters, Antonio de la Cornea, who has such an addresse of counterfeiting the hands of the ancient masters so well as to make his copies passe for originals; Pietro de Cortone, Mons^{r} Poussine a Frenchman, and innumerable more. Fioravanti for armour, plate, dead life, tapistry, &c. The chiefe masters of music, after Marc Antonio, the best trebble, is Cavalier Lauretto an eunuch; the next Card. Bichi's eunuch, Bianchi tenor, and Nicholai base. The Jewes in Rome wore red hatts til the Card. of Lions, being short-sighted, lately saluted one of them, thinking him to be a Cardinal as he pass'd by his coach; on which an order was made that they should use only the yellow colour. There was now at Rome one Mrs. Ward, an English devotee, who much solicited for an order of Jesuitesses.

At executions I saw one, a gentleman, hang'd in his cloak and hatt for murder. They struck the malefactor wth a club y^{t} first stunn'd him, and then cut his throat. At Naples they use a frame, like ours at Halifax (a guillotine).

It is reported that Rome has ben once no lesse than 50 miles in compass, now not 13, containing in

it 3000 churches and chapells, monasteries, &c. It is divided into 14 regions or wards; has 7 mountaines, and as many campi or vally's; in these are faire parks or gardens called villas, being onely places of recesse and pleasure, at some distance from the streetes, yet within the walls.

The bills of exchange I tooke up from my first entering Italy till I went from Rome amounted but to 616 *ducati di banco*, though I purchas'd many books, pictures, and curiosities.

May 18th. I intended to have seen Loretto, but being disappointed of monies long expected, I was forc'd to returne by the same way I came, desiring, if possible, to be at Venice by the Ascension, and therefore I diverted to take Legorne in the way, as well to furnish me w^th^ credit by a merchant there, as to take order for transporting such collections as I had made at Rome. When on my way, turning about to behold this once and yet glorious citty, from an eminence, I did not without some regret give it my last farewell.

Having taken leave of our friends at Rome, where I had sojourn'd now about 7 moneths, autumn, winter, and spring, I tooke coach in company with two courteous Italian gentlemen. In the afternoone we ariv'd at an house, or rather castle, belonging to the Duke of Parma, called Caprarola,[1] situate on the brow of a hill that overlooks a little town, or rather a naturall and stupendous rock; witnesse those vast caves serving now for cellarage, where we were entertain'd w^th^ most generous wine of severall sorts, being just under the foundation. The palace was built by y^e^ famous architect Vignola, at the cost of Card^l^ Alex^r^. Farnese, in forme of an octagone, the court in the

[1] Caprarola. There is a large descriptive account published of this palace, with magnificent plates of the buildings, pictures, and statues.

middle being exactly round, so as rather to resemble a fort or castle; yet the chambers within are all of them square, which makes the walls exceedingly thick. One of these rooms is so artificialy contriv'd, that from the two opposite angles may be heard the least whisper; they say any perfect square dos it. Most of the paintings are by Zuccari. It has a stately entrie, on which spouts an artificial fountaine within the porch. The hall, chapell, and great number of lodging chambers are remarkable, but most of all the pictures and witty inventions of Hannibal Caracci; the Dead Christ is incomparable. Behind are the gardens full of statues and noble fountaines, especialy that of the Shepherds. After din'er we tooke horse, and lay that night at Mont Rossi, 20 miles from Rome.

May 19th. We dined at Viterbo, and lay at St. Laurenzo. Next day at Radicofani, and slept at Turnera.

21st. We dined at Sienna, where we could not passe admiring the greate church[1] built intirely both within and without with white and black marble in polish'd squares, by Macarino, shewing so beautifull after a showre has fall'n. The floore within is of various colour'd marbles, representing the storie of both Testaments admirably wrought. Here lies Pius the Second. The bibliothec is painted by P. Perugino and Raphael. The life of Æneas Sylvius is in *fresco;* in the middle are the 3 Graces in antiq marble, very curious, and the front of this building, tho' Gotic, is yet very fine. Amongst other things they shew St. Catherine's disciplining cell, the doore whereof is half cut out into chipps by the pilgrimes and devotees, being of deale wood.

Setting out hence for Pisa, we went againe to see

[1] See p. 111.

the Domo in which the Emperor Henry VII. lies buried, poyson'd by a monk in the Eucharist. The bending tower was built by Busqueto Delichio, a Grecian architect, and is a stupendious piece of art.[1] In the gallery of curiosities is a faire mummy; the taile of a sea-horse: corall growing on a man's skull; a chariot automaton; two pieces of rock chrystall, in one of which is a drop of water, in the other three or foure small wormes; two embalm'd children; divers petrifactions, &c. The garden of simples is well furnish'd, and has in it the deadly yew or *taxus* of the ancients; w^ch^ Dr. Bellueccio, the superintendant, affirmes that his workmen cannot endure to clip for above the space of halfe an houre at a time, from the paine of the head which surprizes them.

We went hence for Ligorne by coach, where I took up 90 crownes for the rest of my journey, w^th^ letters of credit for Venice, after I had sufficiently complain'd of my defeate of correspondence at Rome.

The next day I came to Lucca, a small but pretty territorie and state of itselfe.—The citty is neate and well fortified, with noble and pleasant walkes of trees on the workes, where the gentry and ladies use to take the aire. 'Tis situate on an ample plaine by the river Serchio, yet the country about it is hilly. The Senat-house is magnificent. The church of St. Michael is a noble piece, as is also St. Fredian, more remarkable to us for the corpse of St. Richard, an English king,[2] who died here in his pilgrimage towards Rome. This epitaph is on his tomb:

> Hic rex Richardus requiescit, sceptifer, almus:
> Rex fuit Anglorum, regnum tenet iste polorum.

[1] See pp. 102, 106, for other bending towers at Pisa and Florence.

[2] Who this Richard King of England was, it is impossible to say; the tomb still exists, and has long been a *crux* to antiquaries and travellers.—EDITOR.

Regnum demisit pro Christo cuncta reliquit.
Ergo Richardum nobis dedit Anglia sanctum.
Hic genitor Sanctæ Wulburgæ Virginis almæ
Est Vrillebaldi sancti simul et Vinebaldi,
Suffragium quorum nobis det regna Polorum.

Next this we visited St. Crosses, an excellent structure all of marble both without and within, and so adorn'd as may vie with many of the fairest even in Rome; witness the huge crosse valued at £15,000, above all venerable for that sacred *volto* which (as tradition goes) was miraculously put on the image of Christ, and made by Nicodemus, whilst the artist, finishing the rest of the body, was meditating what face to set on it. The inhabitants are exceedingly civill to strangers, above all places in Italy, and they speake y^e^ purest Italian. 'Tis also cheape living, which causes travellers to set up their rest here more than in Florence, tho' a more celebrated citty; besides, the ladys here are very conversable, and the religious women not at all reserv'd; of these we bought gloves and embroidred stomachers generaly worn by gentlemen in these countries. The circuit of this state is but two easy days journey, and lies mixed with the Duke of Tuscany's, but having Spain for a protector (tho' the least bigotted of all Roman Catholics), and being one of the fortify'd citties in Italy, it remains in peace. The whole country abounds in excellent olives, &c.

Going hence for Florence, we dined at Pistoja, where besides one church, there was little observable: onely in the highway we crossed a rivulet of salt water tho' many miles from the sea. The country is extreamly pleasant, full of gardens, and the roads straight as a line for the best part of that whole day, the hedges planted with trees at equal distances, watered with cleare and plentifull streames.

Rising early the next morning we alighted at

Poggio Imperiale, being a palace of the Greate Duke, not far from y^e^ citty, having omitted it in my passage to Rome. The ascent to the house is by a stately gallery as it were of talle and over-grown cypresse trees for nearly half a mile. At the enterance of these ranges are placed statues of the Tyber and Arno, of marble; those also of Virgil, Ovid, Petrarch, and Dante. The building is sumptuous, and curiously furnish'd within with cabinets of pietra-commessa in tables, pavements, &c. which is a magnificence or work particularly affected at Florence. The pictures are, Adam and Eve by Albert Durer, very excellent; as is y^t^ piece of carving in wood by the same hand standing in a cupboard. Here is painted the whole Austrian line; the Duke's mother, sister to the Emperor, the foundresse of this palace, than which there is none in Italy that I had seene more magnificently adorn'd or furnish'd.

We could not omit in our passage to revisit the same and other curiosities which we had neglected on our first visit at Florence. We went therefore to see the famous piece of Andrea del Sarto in y^e^ Annunciata: the storie is, that the painter in a time of dearth borrow'd a sack of corne of the religious of that convent, and repayment being demanded, he wrought it out in this picture, which represents Joseph sitting on a sack of corn and reading to the B. Virgin; a piece infinitely valued. There fell down in the cloister an old man's face painted on the wall in *fresco*, greately esteem'd, and brake into crumbs; the Duke sent his best painters to make another instead of it, but none of them would presume to touch a pencil where Andrea had wrought, like another Apelles; but one of them was so industrious and patient, that, picking up the fragments, he laied and fastned them so artificialy together, that the injury it had received was hardly

discernable. Andrea del Sarto lies buried in the same place. Here is also that picture of Bartolomeo, who having spent his utmost skill in y^e^ face of y^e^ angel Gabriel, and being troubl'd that he could not exceede it in the Virgin, he began the body and to finish the clothes, and so left it, minding in y^e^ morning to work on the face; but when he came, no sooner had he drawn away the cloth that was hung before it to preserve it from y^e^ dust, than an admirable and ravishing face was found ready painted, at which miracle all the citty came in to worship; 'tis now kept in y^e^ chapell of y^e^ Salutation, a place so enrich'd by the devotees that none in Italy save Loretto is said to exceede it. This picture is always cover'd with 3 shutters, one of which is of massie silver; methinks it is very brown, the forehead and cheekes whiter, as if it had ben scraped. They report that those who have the honour of seeing it never lose their sight—happy then we! Belonging to this church is a world of plate, some whole statues of it, and lamps innumerable, besides the costly vowes hung up, some of gold, and a cabinet of precious stones.

Visiting the Duke's repository againe, we told at least 40 ranks of porphyry and other statues, and 28 whole figures, many rare paintings and relievos, 2 square columns w^th^ trophies. In one of y^e^ galleries, 24 figures and 50 antiq heads; a Bacchus of M. Angelo, and one of Bandinelli; a head of Bernini, and a most lovely Cupid of Parian marble; at the further end, two admirable women sitting, and a man fighting w^th^ a centaur; 3 figures in little of Andrea; an huge candlestick of amber; a table of Titian's painting, and another representing God y^e^ Father sitting in the aire on the 4 Evangelists; animals; divers smaller pieces of Raphael; a piece of pure virgin gold as big as an egg. In the third chamber

of rarities is the square cabinet valued at 80,000 crownes, shewing on every front a variety of curious work; one of birds and flowers of pietra commessa; one, a descent from the crosse, of M. Angelo; on the third our Bl. Saviour and the Apostles, of amber; and on the 4th a crucifix of ye same. 'Twixt the pictures two naked Venus's by Titian; Adam and Eve by Durer; and severall pieces of Pordenone and del Frate. There is a globe of 6 foote diameter. In the Armourie were an entire elk, a crocodile, and amongst ye harnesse several targets and antiq horse armes, as that of Charles V. Two set with turcoises and other precious stones; a horse's taile of a wonderfull length. Then passing the Old Palace, which has a very greate hall for feasts and comedies, the roofe rarely painted, and the side walls with six very large pictures representing batailes, the worke of Gio. Vassari. Here is a magazine full of plate; a harnesse of emeralds; the furniture of an altar 4 foote high and six in length, of massy gold; in the middle is placed the statue of Cosmo II. the bass relievo is of precious stones, his breeches cover'd wth diamonds; the mouldings of this statue, and other ornaments, festoons, &c. are garnish'd with jewells and great pearls, dedicated to St. Charles, with this inscription in rubies:

Cosimus Secundus Dei gratia Magnus Dux Etruriæ, ex voto.

There is also a King on horseback of massy gold 2 foote high, and an infinity of such like rarities. Looking at the Justice in copper, set up on a column by Cosmo in 1555 after ye victory over Sienna, we were told that when the Duke asking a gentleman how he liked the piece, he answered, that he liked it very well, but that it stood too high for poor men to come at it.

Prince Leopold has in this citty a very excellent collection of paintings, especially a St. Catharine of P. Veronese; a Venus of marble, veiled from the middle to y^e^ feete, esteem'd to be of y^t^ Greeke workman who made the Venus at the Medici's Palace in Rome, altogether as good, and better preserved, an inestimable statue, not long since found about Bologna.

Sig^r^ Gaddi is a letter'd person, and has divers rarities, statues and pictures of the best masters, and one bust of marble as much esteem'd as the most antiq in Italy, and many curious manuscripts; his best paintings are, a Virgin of del Sarto, mention'd by Vassari, a St. John by Raphael, and an Ecce Homo by Titian.

The hall of the Academie de la Crusca is hung about with impresses and devices painted, all of them relating to corne sifted from the brann; the seates are made like bread baskets and other rustic instruments us'd about wheate, and the cushions of satin, like sacks.

We took our farewell of St. Laurence, more particularly noticing that piece of the Resurrection, which consists of a prodigious number of naked figures, the work of Pontormo. On the left hand is the Martyrdom of St. Laurence by Bronzino, rarely painted indeed. In a chapell is the tomb of Pietro di Medici and his brother John, of coper, excellently designed, standing on 2 lions' feete, which end in foliage, the work of M. Angelo. Over against this are sepulchers of all the ducal family. The altar has a statue of the Virgin giving suck, and two Apostles. Paulus Jovius has the honour to be buried in the cloister. Behind the quire is the superb chapell of Ferdinand I. consisting of eight faces, foure plaine, foure a little hollow'd, in the other are to be y^e^ sepulchres and

a niche of paragon for the statue of the Prince now living, all of coper gilt; above is a large table of porphyrie for an inscription for the Duke in letters of jasper. The whole chapell, walls, pavement, and roofe, are full of precious stones united with y^e^ mouldings, which are also of gilded coper, and so are the bases and capitals of the columns. The tabernacle with y^e^ whole altar is inlaid with cornelians, lazuli, serpentine, achats, onyxes, &c. On the other side are six very large columns of rock chrystal, 8 figures of precious stones of several colours, inlayed in natural figures, not inferior to y^e^ best paintings, amongst which are many pearls, diamonds, amethysts, topazes, sumptuous and sparkling beyond description. The windows without side are of white marble. The library is the architecture of Raphael; before y^e^ port is a square vestibule of excellent art, of all y^e^ orders without confusion; the ascent to it from the library is excellent. We number'd 88 shelves, all MSS. and bound in red, chain'd; in all about 3500 volumes, as they told us.

The Arsenal has sufficient to arme 70,000 men, accurately preserv'd and kept, with divers lusty pieces of ordinance, whereof one is for a ball of 300 pounds weight, and another for 160 which weighs 72,500 pounds.

When I was at Florence the celebrated masters were, for pietra-commessa (a kind of mosaiq or inlaying of various colour'd marble, and other more precious stones) Dominico Benetti and Mazzotti: the best statuarie, Vincentio Brochi; this statuary makes those small figures in plaster and pasteboard w^ch^ so resemble coper, that till one handles them they cannot be distinguish'd, he has so rare an art of bronzing them; I bought 4 of him: the best painter, Pietro Beretino di Cortono.

This Duke has a daily tribute for every courtezan

or prostitute allowed to practice that infamous trade in his dominions, and so has his holinesse y^e^ Pope, but not so much in value.

Taking leave of our two jolly companions Sig^r^ Giovanni and his fellow, we took horses for Bologna, and by the way alighted at a villa of the Grand Duke's called Pratoline. The house is a square of 4 pavilions, with a faire platform about it, balustred with stone, situate in a large meadow, ascending like an amphitheater, having at the bottom a huge rock with water running in a small channel like a cascade; on y^e^ other side are y^e^ gardens. The whole place seems consecrated to pleasure and summer retirement. The inside of the palace may compare with any in Italy for furniture of tapissry, beds, &c. and the gardens are delicious and full of fountaines. In the grove sits Pan feeding his flock, the water making a melodious sound through his pipe; and an Hercules whose club yields a shower of water, which falling into a greate shell has a naked woman riding on the backs of dolphins. In another grotto is Vulcan and his family, the walls richly compos'd of corals, shells, coper, and marble figures, with the hunting of severall beasts, moving by y^e^ force of water. Here, having ben well washed for our curiosity, we went down a large walke, at the sides whereof several slender streams of water gush out of pipes concealed underneath, that interchangeably fall into each others channells, making a lofty and perfect arch, so that a man on horseback may ride under it and not receive one drop of wet. This canopy or arch of water, I thought one of the most surprising magnificencies I had ever seene, and very refreshing in the heate of the sum'er. At the end of this very long walk stands a woman in white marble, in posture of a laundress wringing water out of a piece of linen, very naturally formed, into a vast lavor the work and invention of

M. Angelo Buonarotti. Hence we ascended Mount Parnassus, where the Muses plaied to us on hydraulic organs. Neere this is a greate aviarie. All these waters came from the rock in y^e^ garden, on which is the statue of a gyant representing the Appennines, at the foote of which stands this villa. Last of all we came to y^e^ labyrinth in which a huge colosse of Jupiter throws out a streame over the garden. This is 50 foote in height, having in his body a square chamber, his eyes and mouth serving for windows and dore.

We tooke horse and supped that night at Il Ponte, passing a dreadful ridge of the Apennines, in many places capped w^th^ snow, which covers them the whole sum'er. We then descended into a luxurious and rich plaine. The next day we passed through Scarperia, mounting the hills againe where the passage is so strait and precipitous towards the right hand that we climbed them with much care and danger; lodging at Firenzuolo, which is a fort built amongst the rocks and defending the confines of the Greate Duke's territories.

The next day we passed by the Pietramala, a burning mountaine. At the sum't of this prodigious masse of hills we had an unpleasant way to Pianura, where we slept that night and were entertain'd w^th^ excellent wine. Hence to Scargalasino, and to bed at Loiano. This plaine begins about six miles from Bologna.

Bologna belongs to the Pope, and is a famous University, situate in one of the richest spots of Europe for all sorts of provisions. 'Tis built like a ship, whereof the Torre d'Asinello may go for the main-mast. The citty is of no greate strength, having a trifling wall about it, in circuit neere 5 miles, and 2 in length. This Torre d'Asinello, ascended by 447 steps of a foote rise, seems exceed-

ingly high, is very narrow, and the more conspicuous from another tower call'd Garisenda so artificially built of brick (which increases the wonder) that it seems ready to fall: 'tis not now so high as the other, but they say the upper part was formerly taken down for feare it should really fall and do mischief.

Next we went to see an imperfect church cal'd St. Petronius, shewing y^e^ intent of the founder had he gon on. From this our guide led us to y^e^ schooles, which indeede are very magnificent. Thence to St. Dominic's, where that saint's body lies richly inshrin'd. The stalls, or seates of this goodly church have the historie of the Bible inlaied w^th^ severall woods very curiously don, the work of one Fr. Damiano di Bergomo and a frier of that order. Amongst other reliques they shew the two bookes of Esdras written with his own hand. Here lie buried Jac Andreas and divers other learn'd persons. To the church joynes the convent, in y^e^ quadrangle whereof are old cypresses, said to have been planted by their saint.

Then we went to the palace of the Legat, a faire brick building, as are most of the houses and buildings, full of excellent carving and mouldings, so as nothing in stone seems to be better finish'd or more ornamentall; witnesse those excellent columns to be seene in many of their churches, convents, and publiq buildings, for the whole towne is so cloyster'd, that one may passe from house to house through the streetes without being expos'd either to raine or sun.

Before y^e^ stately hall of this palace stands the statue of Paule IV. and divers others; also y^e^ monument of the coronation of Charles V. The piazza before it is the most stately in Italy, St. Mark's at Venice onely excepted. In the center of it is a fountaine of Neptune, a noble figure in coper. Here I

saw a Persian walking about in a rich vest of cloth of tissue, and severall other ornaments, according to the fashion of his country, which much pleased me; he was a young handsome person, of the most stately mien.

I would faine have seene the library of St. Saviour, famous for y^e^ number of rare manuscripts, but could not, so we went to St. Francis's, a glorious pile and exceedingly adorn'd within.

After dinner I enquired out a priest and Dr. Montalbano, to whom I brought recom'endations from Rome; this learned person invented or found out the composition of the *lapis illuminabilis*, or phosphorus. He shew'd me their property (for he had severall), being to retain y^e^ light of the sun for some competent time, by a kind of imbibition, by a particular way of calcination. Some of these presented a blew colour like the flame of brimstone, others like coals of a kitchen fire. The rest of the afternoone was taken up in St. Michael in Bosco, built on a steepe hill on the edge of y^e^ citty, for its fabrick, pleasant shade and groves, cellars, dormitory, and prospects, one of the most delicious retirements I ever saw; art and nature contending which shall exceede; so as till now I never envied the life of a frier. The whole towne and country to a vast extent are under com'and of their eyes, almost as far as Venice itselfe. In this convent there are many excellent paintings of Guido Rheni, above all, the little cloister of 8 faces painted by Caracci in *fresco*. The carvings in wood in the sacristy are admirable, as is the inlayd worke about y^e^ chapell, which even emulates the best paintings, the work is so delicate and tender. The paintings of the Saviour are of Caracci and Leonardo, and there are excellent things of Raphael which we could not see.

In the church of St. John is a fine piece of St.

Cecilia by Raphael. As to other paintings, there is in the church of St. Gregorie an excellent picture of a Bishop giving the habit of St. Bernard to an arm'd souldier, with severall other figures in the piece, the work of Guerchino. Indeede this citty is full of rare pieces, especialy of Guido, Domenico, and a virgin named Isabella Sirani, now living, who has painted many excellent pieces, and imitates Guido so well that many skilfull artists have been deceiv'd.

At the Mendicants are the Miracles of St. Eloy by Rheni, after the manner of Caravaggio, but better; and here they shew'd us that famous piece of Christ calling St. Matthew, by Annibal Caracci. The Marques Magniani has y^e^ whole frieze of his hall painted in *fresco* by the same hand.

Many of the religious men nourish those lap-dogs which the ladies are so fond of, and which they here sell. They are a pigmy sort of spaniels, whose noses they break when puppies, which in my opinion deforms them.

At the end of the turning in one of the wings of the dormitorie of St. Michael I found a paper pasted neere the window, containing the dimensions of most of the famous churches in Italy compar'd with their toures here, and the length of this gallery, a copy whereof I tooke.

	Braccia.[1]	Piedi di Bolognia.	Cana di Roma.
St. Pietro di Roma, longo . .	284	473	84
Cupola del murro, alta . . .	210	350	60
Torre d'Asinello, alto . . .	208⅘	348	59 pr.^mi^ 6
Dormitorio de St. Mich. a Bologn. longo	254	423	72½

[1] A measure of half an ell.

From hence being brought to a subterranean territorie of cellars, the courteous friars made us taste a variety of excellent wines, and so we departed to our inn.

This citty is famous also for sausages; and here is sold greate quantities of Parmegiano cheese, with Botargo, Caviare, &c. which makes some of their shops perfume y^e^ streetes with no agreeable smell. We furnish'd ourselves with wash-balls, the best being made here, and being a considerable commodity. This place has also been celebrated for lutes made by the old masters, Mollen, Hans Frey, and Nicholas Sconvelt, which were of extraordinary price; the workmen were chiefly Germans. The cattle used for draught in this country (which is very rich and fertile, especialy in pasturage) are cover'd with housings of linnen fring'd at the bottome, that dangle about them, preserving them from flyes, w^ch^ in sum'er are very troublesome.

From this pleasant citty we proceeded towards Ferrara, carrying with us a bulletino or bill of health (customary in all these parts of Italy, especialy in the State of Venice), and so put ourselves into a boate that was tow'd with horses, often interrupted by the sluices (inventions there to raise the water for the use of mills, and to fill the artificial canalls) at every of which we stayed till passage was made. We went by y^e^ Castle Bentivoglio, and about night arriv'd at an ugly inn call'd Mal Albergo, agreeable to its name, whence, after we had supp'd, we embark'd and pass'd that night thro' the Fenns, where we were so pestered with those flying glow-worms called Luccioli, that one who had never heard of them would think the country full of sparks of fire; beating some of them downe, and applying them to a book, I could reade in the dark by y^e^ light they afforded.

Quitting our boate we took coach, and by morning

got to Ferrara, where, before we could gain entrance, our gunns and armes were taken from us of custom, the lock being taken off before as we were advis'd. The citty is in a low marshy country, and therefore well fortified. The houses and streetes have nothing of beauty, except the palace and church of St. Benedict, where Ariosto lies buried; and there are some good statues, the palazzo del Diamante, citadel, church of St. Dominico. The market-place is very spacious, having in its center the figure of Nicholao Oläo, once Duke of Ferrara, on horseback, in coper. It is in a word a dirty towne, and tho' the streetes be large, they remaine ill pav'd; yet it is a University, and now belongs to the Pope. Tho' there are not many fine houses in y^e^ citty, the inn where we lodg'd was a very noble palace, having an Angel for its sign.

We parted from hence about 3 in y^e^ afternoone, and went some of our way on y^e^ chanell, and then imbark'd on the Po, or Padus, by y^e^ poets called Eridanus, where they faine Phaeton to have fallen after his rash attempt, and where Io was metamorphos'd into a cow. There was in our company, amongst others, a Polonian Bishop, who was exceeding civill to me in this passage, and afterwards did me many kindnesses at Venice. We supp'd this night at a place called Corbua, neere the ruines of the ancient citty Adria, which gives name to y^e^ Gulph, or Sea. After 3 miles, having passed 30 on the Po, we imbark'd in a stout vessell, and thro' an artificial chanell, very strait, we entred the Adice, which carried us by break of day into y^e^ Adriatic, and so sailing prosperously by Chioza (a towne upon an island in this sea,) and Palestina, we came over against Malamocco (the cheife port and ankerage where our English merchantmen lie that trade to Venice) about 7 at night, after we had stayed at least 2 houres for permission to land, our bill of health

being deliver'd according to costome. So soone as we came on shore we were conducted to the Dogana, where our portmanteaus were visited, and then we got to our lodging, which was at honest Sig^r. Paulo Rhodomante's at the Black Eagle, near the Rialto, one of the best quarters of the towne. This journey from Rome to Venice cost me 7 pistoles and 13 julios.

June. The next morning, finding myself extreamly weary and beaten with my journey, I went to one of their bagnios, where you are treated after the eastern manner, washing with hot and cold water, with oyles, and being rubb'd w^th^ a kind of strigil of seal's-skin, put on the operator's hand like a glove. This bath did so open my pores that it cost me one of the greatest colds I ever had in my life, for want of necessary caution in keeping myselfe warme for some time after; for coming out, I immediately began to visit the famous places of the citty; and travellers who come into Italy do nothing but run up and downe to see sights, and this citty well deserved our admiration, being the most wonderfully placed of any in the world, built on so many hundred islands, in the very sea, and at good distance from y^e^ Continent. It has no fresh water except what is reserv'd in cisterns from raine, and such as is daily brought from *terra firma* in boates, yet there was no want of it, and all sorts of excellent provisions were very cheape.

'Tis said that when the Huns overran Italy some meane fisherman and others left the maine land and fled for shelter to these despicable and muddy islands, which in processe of time, by industry, are growne to the greatnesse of one of the most considerable States, considered as a Republic, and having now subsisted longer than any of the foure ancient Monarchies, flourishing in greate state, wealth, and glory, by the conquest of greate territories in Italy, Dacia,

Greece, Candy, Rhodes, and Sclavonia, and at present challenging the empire of all the Adriatiq Sea, which they yearly espouse by casting a gold ring into it w^th^ greate pomp and ceremony on Ascension Day: the desire of seeing this was one of the reasons that hastened us from Rome.

The Doge, having heard masse in his robes of state (which are very particular, after the eastern fashion), together with y^e^ Senat in their gownes, imbark'd in their gloriously painted, carved, and gilded Bucentora, inviron'd and follow'd by innumerable gallys, gondolas, and boates, filled w^th^ spectators, some dressed in masquerade, trumpets, musiq, and cannons; having rowed about a league into the Gulph, the Duke at the prow casts a gold ring and cup into the sea, at which a loud acclamation is ecchoed from the greate guns of the Arsenal and at the Liddo. We then return'd.

Two days after, taking a gondola, which is their water-coach (for land-ones there are many old men in this citty who never saw one, or rarely a horse), we rowed up and downe the channells, which answer to our streetes. These vessells are built very long and narrow, having necks and tailes of steele, somewhat spreading at the beake like a fishe's taile, and kept so exceedingly polish'd as to give a greate lustre; some are adorn'd with carving, others lined with velvet (commonly black), with curtains and tassells, and the seates like couches, to lie stretch'd on, while he who rowes stands upright on the very edge of the boate, and with one oare bending forward as if he would fall into the sea, rows and turnes with incredible dexterity; thus passing from channell to channell, landing his fare or patron at what house he pleases. The beakes of these vessells are not unlike the ancient Roman rostrums.

The first publiq building I went to see was the

Rialto, a bridge of one arch over the grand canall, so large as to admit a gally to row under it, built of good marble, and having on it, besides many pretty shops, three ample and stately passages for people without any inconvenience, the two utmost nobly balustred with the same stone; a piece of architecture much to be admir'd. It was evening, and the canall where the Noblesse go to take the air, as in our Hide-park, was full of ladys and gentlemen. There are many times dangerous stops by reason of the multitude of gondolas ready to sink one another; and indeede they affect to leane them on one side, that one who is not accostom'd to it would be afraid of over-setting. Here they were singing, playing on harpsichords and other musick, and serenading their mistresses; in another place racing and other pastimes on y^e^ water, it being now exceeding hot.

Next day I went to their Exchange, a place like ours, frequented by merchants, but nothing so magnificent: from thence my guide led me to the Fondigo di Todeschi, which is their magazine, and here many of the merchants, especialy Germans, have their lodging and diet as in a college. The outside of this stately fabric is painted by Giorgione da Castelfranco, and Titian himselfe.

Hence I pass'd thro' the Merceria, one of the most delicious streetes in the world for the sweetnesse of it, and is all the way on both sides tapistred as it were with cloth of gold, rich damasks and other silks, which the shops expose and hang before their houses from y^e^ first floore, and with that variety that for neere halfe y^e^ yeare spent chiefly in this citty, I hardly remember to have seene y^e^ same piece twice expos'd; to this add the perfumes, apothecaries shops, and the innumerable cages of nightingales which they keepe, that entertaine you with their melody from shop to shop, so that shutting your eyes

you would imagine yourselfe in the country, when indeede you are in the middle of the sea. It is almost as silent as the middle of a field, there being neither rattling of coaches nor trampling of horses. This streete, pav'd with with brick and exceedingly cleane, brought us through an arch into the famous piazza of St. Marc.

Over this porch stands that admirable clock, celebrated next to that of Strasburg for its many movements; amongst which, about 12 and 6, which are their houres of Ave Maria, when all the towne are on their knees, come forth the three Kings led by a starr, and passing by y^e^ image of Christ in his Mother's armes, do their reverence, and enter into y^e^ clock by another doore. At the top of this turret another automaton strikes y^e^ quarters; an honest merchant told me that one day walking in the piazza, he saw the fellow who kept the clock struck with this hammer so forceably, as he was stooping his head neere the bell to mend something amisse at the instant of striking, that being stunn'd he reel'd over the battlements and broke his neck. The buildings in this piazza are all arch'd, on pillars, pav'd within with black and white polish'd marble, even to the shops, the rest of the fabric as stately as any in Europ, being not only marble but the architecture is of y^e^ famous Sansovini, who lies buried in St. Jacomo at the end of the piazza. The battlements of this noble range of building are rail'd with stone, and thick set with excellent statues, which add a great ornament. One of y^e^ sides is yet much more Roman-like than the other which reguards the sea, and where the church is plac'd. The other range is plainly Gotiq: and so we enter'd into St. Marc's church, before which stand two brasse piedestals exquisitely cast and figur'd, which beare as many tall masts painted red, on which upon greate festivals

they hang flags and streamers. The church is also Gotic; yet for the preciousnesse of the materials, being of severall rich marbles, aboundance of porphyrie, serpentine, &c. far exceeding any in Rome, St. Peter's hardly excepted. I much admired the splendid historie of our B. Saviour compos'd all of mosaic over the *faciata*, below which and over the cheife gate are cast foure horses in coper as big as the life, the same that formerly were transported from Rome by Constantine to Byzantium, and thence by the Venetians hither.[1] They are supported by 8 porphyrie columns of very great size and value. Being come into y^e^ church, you see nothing, and tread on nothing, but what is precious. The floor is all inlayed with achats, lazulis, calcedons, jaspers, porphyries, and other rich marbles, admirable also for the work; the walls sumptuously incrusted, and presenting to y^e^ imagination y^e^ shapes of men, birds, houses, flowers, and a thousand varieties. The roofe is of most excellent Mosaic; but what most persons admire is the new work of the emblematic tree at the other passage out of the church. In the midst of this rich *volto* rise five cupolas, the middle very large and sustayn'd by 36 marble columns, eight of which are of precious marbles: under these cupolas in y^e^ high altar, on which is a reliquarie of severall sorts of jewells, engraven with figures after the Greeke manner, and set together w^th^ plates of pure gold. The altar is cover'd with a canopy of ophit, on which is sculptur'd the storie of the Bible, and so on the pillars, w^ch^ are of Parian marble, that support it. Behind these are four other columns of transparent and true Oriental alabaster, brought hither out of the mines of Solomon's Temple, as they report. There aré many chapells and notable monuments of

[1] They were taken away by Buonaparte to Paris, but in 1815 were sent back to Venice. EDIT.

illustrious persons, dukes, cardinals, &c. as Zeno, J. Soranzi, and others: there is likewise a vast baptisterie of coper. Among other venerable reliques is a stone on which they say our Blessed Lord stood preaching to those of Tyre and Sidon, and neere the doore is an image of Christ, much ador'd, esteeming it very sacred, for that a rude fellow striking it, they say, there gush'd out a torrent of blood. In one of the corners lies the body of St. Isidore, brought hither 500 years since from y^e^ island of Chios. A little farther they shew the picture of St. Dominic and Francis, affirm'd to have ben made by the Abbot Joachim (many yeares before any of them were born). Going out of the church they shew'd us the stone where Alexander III. trod on y^e^ neck of y^e^ Emperor Fred. Barbarossa, pronouncing that verse of the psalm, "*super basiliscum*," &c. The dores of y^e^ church are of massie coper. There are neere 500 pillars in this building, most of them porphyrie and serpentine, and brought chiefly from Athens and other parts of Greece formerly in their power. At the corner of the church are inserted into the maine wall four figures as big as life cut in porphyrie, which they say are the images of foure brothers who poysoned one another, by which meanes there escheated to y^e^ Republiq that vast treasury of relicques now belonging to the church. At the other entrance that looks towards the sea, stands in a small chapell that statue of our Lady, made (as they affirme) of the same stone or rock out of which Moses brought water to the murmuring Israelites at Horeb or Meriba.

After all that is said, this church is in my opinion much too dark and dismal, and of heavy work; the fabric, as is much of Venice both for buildings and other fashions and circumstances, after the Greekes, their next neighboures.

The next day, by favour of the French Ambassador, I had admittance with him to view the Reliquary call'd here Tresoro di San Marco, which very few even of travellers are admitted to see. It is a large chamber full of presses. There are twelve breastplates, or pieces of pure golden armour studded with precious stones, and as many crownes dedicated to St. Mark by so many noble Venetians who had recovered their wives taken at sea by the Saracens; many curious vases of achats; the cap or cornet of the Dukes of Venice, one of which had a rubie set on it esteemed worth 200,000 crownes; two unicorns hornes; numerous vasas and dishes of achat set thick with precious stones and vast pearles; divers heads of Saints inchas'd in gold; a small ampulla or glasse with our Saviour's blood; a greate morcell of the real crosse; one of the nailes; a thorn; a fragment of y^e^ column to which our Lord was bound when scourged; the standard or ensigne of Constantine; a piece of St. Luke's arme; a rib of St. Stephen; a finger of Mary Magdalene; numerous other things which I could not remember; but a priest, first vesting himselfe in his sacerdotals with the stole about his neck, shew'd us the Gospel of St. Mark (their tutelar patron) written by his own hand, and whose body they shew buried in the church, brought hither from Alexandria many years ago.

The Religious de li Servi have fine paintings of P. Veroneze, especially the Magdalen.

A French gentleman and myself went to the Courts of Justice, the Senate-house, and Ducal Palace. The first court neere this church is almost wholly built of several colour'd sorts of marble, like chequer work on the outside; this is sustain'd by vast pillars, not very shapely, but observable for their capitals, and that out of thirty-three no two are alike. Under this fabrick is the cloyster where merchants meete morn-

ing and evening, as also the grave senators and gentlemen, to confer of state affaires in their gownes and caps like so many philosophers; 'tis a very noble and solemn spectacle. In another quadrangle stood two square columns of white marble, carved, which they said had been erected to hang one of their Dukes on who design'd to make himselfe Soveraigne. Going through a stately arch there were standing in niches divers statues of great value, amongst which is the so celebrated Eve, esteem'd worth its weight in gold; it is just opposite to y^e^ staires where are two Colossus's of Mars and Neptune by Sansovino. We went up into a Coridore built with several Tribunals and Courts of Justice; and by a well-contriv'd staircase were landed in the Senate-hall, which appears to be one of the most noble and spacious rooms in Europ, being 76 paces long and 32 in breath. At the upper end are the Tribunals of the Doge, Council of Ten, and Assistants; in the body of the hall are lower ranks of seates capable of containing 1500 Senators, for they consist of no fewer on grand debates. Over the Duke's throne are the paintings of the Final Judgment by Tintoret, esteem'd amongst the best pieces in Europe. On the roofe are the famous Acts of the Republick painted by severall excellent masters, especialy Bassano; next them are the Effigies of the several Dukes, with their Elogies. Then we turned into a great Court painted with the Battail of Lepanto, an excellent piece; afterwards into the Chamber of the Council of Ten, painted by the most celebrated masters. From hence, by the special favour of an Illustrissimo, we were carried to see the private Armorie of the Palace, and so to the same Court we first enter'd, nobly built of polish'd white marble, part of which is the Duke's Court *pro tempore;* there are two wells adorn'd with excellent work in coper. This led us to the sea-side, where stand

those columns of ophite stone in the intire piece, of a greate height, one bearing St. Mark's Lion, the other St. Theodorus; these pillars were brought from Greece, and set up by Nic. Baraterius the architect; between them publique executions are performed.

Having fed our eyes with the noble prospect of y^e^ Island St. George, the galleys, gondolas, and other vessells passing to and fro, we walked under the cloyster on the other side of this goodly piazza, being a most magnificent building, the design of Sansovino. Here we went into the *zecca*, or mint; at the entrance stand two prodigious giants or Hercules of white marble: we saw them melt, beate, and coyne silver, gold, and coper. We then went up into the procuratorie, and a library of excellent MSS. and books belonging to it and the publiq. After this we climb'd up the Toure of St. Mark, which we might have don on horseback, as 'tis said one of the French Kings did, there being no stayres or steps, but returnes that take up an entire square on the arches 40 foote, broad enough for a coach. This steeple stands by itselfe without any church neere it, and is rather a watch toure in the corner of y^e^ greate piazza, 230 foote in height, the foundation exceeding deepe; on the top is an angel y^t^ turns w^th^ y^e^ wind, and from hence is a prospect down the Adriatic as far as Istria and the Dalmatian side, with the surprizing sight of this miraculous citty, lying in the bosome of the sea, in the shape of a lute, the numberless islands tacked together by no fewer than 450 bridges. At the foote of this toure is a public tribunal of excellent work in white marble polish'd, adorn'd with several brasse statues and figures of stone in mezzo relievo, the performance of some rare artist.

It was now Ascension Weeke, and the greate mart or faire of y^e^ whole yeare was kept, every body at liberty and jollie. The noblemen stalking with their

ladys on *choppines;* these are high-heel'd shoes, particularly affected by these proude dames, or, as some say, invented to keepe them at home, it being very difficult to walke with them; whence one being asked how he liked the Venetian dames, replied, they were *mezzo carne, mezzo ligno*, half flesh, half wood, and he would have none of them. The truth is, their garb is very odd, as seeming allwayes in masquerade; their other habits also totaly different from all nations. They weare very long crisped haire of severall strakes and colours, which they make so by a wash, dischevelling it on the brims of a broade hat that has no crown, but an hole to put out their heads by; they drie them in the sunn, as one may see them at their windows. In their tire they set silk flowers and sparkling stones, their peticoates coming from their very arme-pits, so that they are neere three quarters and an half apron; their sleeves are made exceeding wide, under which their shift sleeves as wide, and commonly tucked up to the shoulder, shewing their naked armes, thro' false sleeves of tiffany, girt with a bracelet or two, with knots of points richly tagged about their shoulders and other places of their body, which they usually cover with a kind of yellow vaile of lawn very transparent. Thus attir'd they set their hands on the heads of two matron-like servants or old women, to support them, who are mumbling their beades. 'Tis ridiculous to see how these ladys crawle in and out of their gondolas by reason of their *choppines*, and what dwarfs they appeare when taken down from their wooden scaffolds; of these I saw near thirty together, stalking halfe as high again as the rest of the world; for courtezans or the citizens may not weare *choppines*, but cover their bodies and faces with a vaile of a certaine glittering taffeta or lustreè, out of which they now and then dart a glaunce of their eye, the whole face being otherwise entirely

hid with it; nor may the com'on misses take this habit, but go abroad barefac'd. To the corners of these virgin-vailes hang broad but flat tossells of curious Point de Venize. The married women go in black vailes. The nobility weare the same colour, but of fine cloth lin'd wth taffeta in summer, with fur of the bellies of squirrells in y^{e} winter, which all put on at a certaine day girt with a girdle emboss'd with silver; the vest not much different from what our Bachelors of Arts weare in Oxford, and a hood of cloth made like a sack, cast over their left shoulder, and a round cloth black cap fring'd with wool which is not so comely; they also weare their collar open to shew the diamond button of the stock of their shirt. I have never seene pearle for colour and bignesse comparable to what the ladys wear, most of the noble families being very rich in jewells, especialy pearles, which are always left to the son or brother who is destined to marry, which the eldest seldome do. The Doge's vest is of crimson velvet, the Procurator's, &c. of damasc, very stately. Nor was I lesse surprized with the strange variety of y^{e} severall nations seen every day in the streetes and piazzas; Jews, Turks, Armenians, Persians, Moores, Greekes, Sclavonians, some with their targets and boucklers, and all in their native fashions, negotiating in this famous Emporium, which is allways crowded with strangers.

This night, having with my Lord Bruce taken our places before, we went to the opera, where comedies and other plays are represented in recitative musiq by the most excellent musicians, vocal and instrumental, with variety of sceanes painted and contrived with no lesse art of perspective, and machines for flying in the aire, and other wonderfull motions; taken together it is one of the most magnificent and expensive diversions the wit of man can invent. The his-

tory was, Hercules in Lydia; the sceanes changed thirteen times. The famous voices Anna Rencia, a Roman, and reputed the best treble of women; but there was an eunuch who in my opinion surpass'd her; also a Genoeze that sung an incomparable base. This held us by y^e^ eyes and eares till two in the morning, when we went to the Chetto de san Felice, to see the noblemen and their ladies at basset, a game at cards which is much used, but they play not in public, and all that have inclination to it are in masquerade, without speaking one word, and so they come in, play, loose or gaine, and go away as they please. This time of licence is onely in Carnival and this Ascension Weeke; neither are their theaters open for that other magnificence or for ordinary comedians save on these solemnities, they being a frugal and wise people and exact observers of all sumptuarie laws.

There being at this time a ship bound for the Holy Land, I had resolved to imbark, intending to see Jerusalem and other parts of Syria, Egypt, and Turkey; but after I had provided all necessaries, laid in snow to coole our drink, bought some sheepe, poultry, biscuit, spirits, and a little cabinet of drouggs in case of sickness, our vessell (whereof Capt. Powell was master) happen'd to be press'd for the service of the State to carry provisions to Candia, now newly attacqued by the Turkes, which altogether frustrated my designe, to my greate mortification.

On the . . . June we went to Padua, to the faire of their St. Anthony, in company of divers passengers. The first *terra firma* we landed at was Fusina, being onely an inn, where we changed our barge and were then drawne up by horses thro' the river Brenta, a strait chanell as even as a line for 20 miles, the country on both sides deliciously adorned with country villas and gentlemen's retirements, gardens

planted with oranges, figs, and other fruit, belonging to y^e^ Venetians. At one of these villas we went ashore to see a pretty contriv'd palace. Observable in this passage was buying their water of those who farme the sluices, for this artificial river is in some places so shallow that reserves of water are kept with sluices, which they open and shut with the most ingenious invention or engine, govern'd even by a child. Thus they keep up the water, or let it go, till the next channell be either filled by the stop, or abated to the levell, of the other, for which every boate pays a certaine dutie. Thus we stay'd neere halfe an houre, and more at three severall places, so as it was evening before we got to Padua. This is a very ancient cittie if the tradition of Antenor's being the founder be not a fiction; but thus speakes the inscription over a stately gate:

Hanc antiquissimam urbem literarum omnium asylum, cujus agrum fertilitatis Lumen Natura esse voluit, Antenor condidit an'o ante Christum natum M.Cxviii, Senatus autem Venetus his belli propugnandis ornavit.

The towne stands on the river Padus, whence its name, and is generally built like Bologna on arches and on brick, so that one may walk all round it, dry, and in the shade, w^ch^ is very convenient in these hot countries, and I think I was never sensible of so burning a heate as I was this season, especialy the next day, which was that of y^e^ faire, fill'd with noble Venetians by reason of a greate and solemn procession to their famous cathedral. Passing by St. Lorenzo I met with this inscription:

Inclytus Antenor patriam vox nisa quietem [1]
Transtulit huc Henetum Dardanidumq; fuga,
Expulit Euganeos, Patavinam condidit urbem,
Quem tegit hic humili marmore cæsa domus.

[1] Keysler very justly observes, that the first line of this inscription conveys no meaning. Vol. iii. p. 220.

Under the tomb was a cobler at his work. Being now come to St. Antonies (the streete most of y^e^ way strait, well built, and outsides excellently painted in *fresco*) we survey'd the spacious piazza, in which is erected a noble statue of coper of a man on horseback, in memorie of one Catta Malata,[1] a renowned captaine. The church, *a la Greca*, consists of five handsome cupolas leaded. At the left hand within is the tomb of St. Anthony and his altar, about w^ch^ a mezzo relievo of the miracles ascrib'd to him is exquisitely wrought in white marble by the three famous sculptors, Tullius Lombardus, Jacobus Sansovinus, and Hieron. Compagno. A little higher is the quire, wall'd parapet fashion with sundry colour'd stone halfe relievo, the work of Andrea Reccij. The altar within is of the same metall, which with the candlestick and bases is in my opinion as magnificent as any in Italy. The wainscot of the quire is rarely inlayed and carved. Here are the sepulchres of many famous persons, as of Rodolphus Fulgosi, &c. and among the rest one that for an exploit at sea has a gally exquisitely carved thereon. The procession bore the banners with all the treasure of the cloyster, which was a very fine sight.

Hence walking over the Prato delle Valle I went to see y^e^ convent of St. Justina's, than w^ch^ I never beheld one more magnificent. The church is an excellent piece of architecture of Andrea Palladio, richly pav'd, with a stately cupola that covers the high altar inshrining the ashes of y^t^ saint. It is of *pietra-commessa*, consisting of flowers very naturally don. The quire is inlay'd with several sorts of wood representing the holy history, finish'd with exceeding industry. At the far end is that rare painting of St. Justina's Martyrdom by P. Veronese;

[1] Lassells calls him Gatta Mela, the Venetian General, nicknamed Gata, because of his watchfulness. P. 429.

and a stone on w^ch^ they told us divers primitive Christians had ben decapitated. In another place (to w^ch^ leads a small cloister well painted) is a dry well, cover'd with a brasse-work grate, wherein are the bones of divers martyrs. They shew also the bones of St. Luke in an old alabaster coffin; three of the Holy Innocents; and y^e^ bodys of St. Maximus and Prosdocimus.[1] The dormitory above is exceeding commodious and stately, but what most pleas'd me was the old cloyster so well painted with the legendarie saints, mingled with many ancient inscriptions, and pieces of urnes dug up it seemes at the foundation of the church. Thus having spent the day in rambles, I return'd the next day to Venice.

The arsenal is thought to be one of y^e^ best furnish'd in y^e^ world. We entred by a strong port always guarded, and ascending a spacious gallery saw armes of back, breast, and head, for many thousands; in another were saddles, over them ensignes taken from the Turks. Another hall is for the meeting of the Senate; passing a graff are the smiths forges, where they are continualy employed on ankers and iron work. Neere it is a well of fresh water, which they impute to two rhinoceros's horns which they say lie in it and will preserve it from ever being empoison'd. Then we came to where the carpenters were building their magazines of oares, masts, &c. for an hundred gallys and ships, which have all their aparell and furniture neere them. Then the founderie, where they cast ordinance; the forge is 450 paces long, and one of them has thirteen furnaces. There is one cannon weighing 16,573 lbs. cast whilst Henry the Third dined, and put into a gally built, rigg'd, and fitted for launching within that time. They have also armes for 12 galeasses,

[1] St. Peter's disciple, first Bishop of Padua. Lassells, p. 430.

w^ch^ are vessells to rowe, of almost 150 foote long and 30 wide, not counting prow or poop, and contain 28 banks of oares, each 7 men, and to carry 1300 men, with 3 masts. In another magazin for 50 gallys, and place for some hundreds more. Here stands the Bucentaur, with a most ample deck, and so contriv'd that the slaves are not seene, having on the poop a throne for the Doge to sit, when he gos in triumph to espouse the Adriatic. Here is also a gallery of 200 yards long for cables, and above that a magazine of hemp. Opposite these are the saltpetre houses, and a large row of cells or houses to protect their gallies from y^e^ weather. Over the gate as we go out, is a roome full of greate and small guns, some of which discharge six times at once. Then there is a court full of can'on, bullets, chaines, grapples, granados, &c. and over that armes for 800,000 men, and by themselves armes for 400 taken from some that were in a plot against the state; together with weapons of offence and defence for 62 ships; 32 pieces of ordnance on carriages taken from the Turks, and one prodigious mortar-piece. In a word, 'tis not to be reckoned up what this large place containes of this sort. There were now 23 gallys, and 4 gally-grossi of 100 oares of a side. The whole arsenal is wall'd about and may be in compasse about 3 miles, with 12 towres for y^e^ watch, besides y^t^ the sea environs it. The workmen, who are ordinarily 500, march out in military order, and every evening receive their pay thro' a small hole in y^e^ gate where the governor lives.

The next day I saw a wretch executed who had murther'd his master, for w^ch^ he had his head chop'd off by an axe y^t^ slid down a frame of timber,[1] between the two tall columns in St. Mark's piazza at

[1] The maiden at Halifax, in Yorkshire, and the guillotine in France, were made after the same manner.

the sea brink; the executioner striking on the axe with a beatle, and so the head fell off the block.

Hence by Gudala we went to see Grimani's palace, the portico whereof is excellent work. Indeed the world cannot shew a citty of more stately buildings considering the extent of it, all of square stone, and as chargeable in their foundations, as superstructure, being all built on piles at an immense cost. We return'd home by the church of St. Johanne and Paulo, before which is in coper, the statue of Bartolomeo Colone on horseback, double gilt, on a stately pedestal, the work of And. Verrochio, a Florentine. This is a very fine church, and has in it many rare altar-pieces of y^e^ best masters, especialy that on the left hand, of y^e^ Two Friers slaine, which is of Titian.

The day after, being Sunday, I went over to St. George's to y^e^ ceremonie of y^e^ schismatic Greekes, who are permitted to have their church, tho' they are at defiance with Rome. They allow no carved images, but many painted, especialy the story of their patron and his dragon. Their rites differ not much from the Latines, save that of communicating in both species, and distribution of the holy bread. We afterwards fell into a dispute with a Candiot concerning the procession of y^e^ Holy Ghost. The church is a noble fabric.

The church of St. Zachary is of Greeke building, by Leo y^e^ 4th Emp. and has in it the bones of that prophet with divers other saints. Neere this we visited St. Luke's, famous for the tomb of Aretine.[1]

Tuesday we visited severall other churches, as S^ta^ Maria, newly incrusted with marble on the out-

[1] This epitaph has been made for this satyrist and atheist:

Here lies the man who no man spared,
When the angry fit was on him;
Nor God himself had better fared,
If Aretine had known him.

side, and adorn'd w^th^ porphyrie, ophit, and Spartan stone. Neere the altar and under y^e^ organ are sculptures, that are said to be of the famous artist Praxiteles. To that of St. Paul I went purposely to see the tomb of Titian. Then to St. John the Evangelist, where among other heroes lies Andr. Baldarius, the inventor of oares applied to greate vessells for fighting.

We also saw St. Roch, the roofe whereof is, with the school or hall of that rich confraternity, admirably painted by Tintoret, especialy the Crucifix in y^e^ *sacristia*. We saw also y^e^ church of St. Sebastian, and Carmelites monasterie.

Next day taking our gondola at St. Mark's, I pass'd to y^e^ island of St. George Maggiore, where is a convent of Benedictines, and a well-built church of Andrea Palladio, the greate architect. The pavement, cupola, choire, and pictures, very rich and sumptuous. The cloyster has a fine garden to it, which is a rare thing at Venice, tho' this is an island a little distant from y^e^ cittie; it has also an olive orchard all inviron'd by the sea. The new cloyster now building has a noble stayrecase pav'd w^th^ white and black marble.

From hence we visited St. Spirito and St. Laurence, faire churches in severall islands; but most remarkable is that of y^e^ Padri Olivetani in St. Helen's island, for the rare paintings and carvings, w^th^ inlay'd work, &c.

The next morning we went againe to Padua, where on the following day we visited y^e^ merket, which is plentifully furnish'd and exceedingly cheape. Here we saw y^e^ greate hall, built in a spacious piazza, and one of y^e^ most magnificent in Europe; its ascent is by steps a good height, of a reddish marble polish'd, much us'd in these parts and happly found not far off; 'tis almost 200 paces long and 40 in breadth, all

cover'd w^th^ lead, without any support of columns. At y^e^ farther end stands the bust in white marble of Titus Livius the historian. In this town is the house wherein he was borne, full of inscriptions and pretty faire.

Neere to the monument of Speron Speronii, is painted on y^e^ cieling the celestial zodiaq and other astronomical figures; without side there is a corridor in manner of a balcony, of the same stone; and at the entrie of each of the three gates is the head of some famous person, as Albert Eremitano, Jul. Paullo (lawyers), and Peter Aponius. In the piazza is the Podesta and Capitano Grande's palace, well built; but above all the Monte Pietà, the front whereof is of most excellent architecture; this is a foundation of which there is one in most of the citties in Italy, where there is a continual banq of mony to assist y^e^ poorer sort, on any pawn, and at reasonable interest, together w^th^ magazines for deposit of goods till redeemed.

Hence to y^e^ Scholes of this flourishing and ancient University, especialy for y^e^ studie of physic and anatomie. They are fairly built in quadrangle, with cloysters beneath, and above w^th^ columns. Over the greate gate are the armes of y^e^ Venetian State, and under y^e^ lion of St. Marc:

"Sic ingredere ut teipso quotidie doctior; sic egredere ut indies Patriæ Christianæq; Reipublicæ utilior evadas; ita demùm Gymnasium a te felicitèr ornatum existimabit.

CIↃ.IX."

About y^e^ court walls are carv'd in stone and painted the blazons of the Consuls of all the nations that from time to time have had that charge and honor in the Universitie, which at my being there was my worthy friend Dr. Rogers, who here tooke that degree.

The scholes for y^e^ lectures of the severall sciences are above, but none of them comparable, or so much frequented as the theatre for anatomie, which is excellently contriv'd both for the dissector and spectators. I was this day invited to dinner, and in the afternoone (30 July) received my *matricula*, being resolved to spend some moneths here at study, especialy physic and anatomie, of both which there was now the most famous professors in Europe. My *matricula* contained a clause, that I, my goods, servants, and messengers, should be free from all tolls and reprises, and that we might come, pass, return, buy or sell, without any toll, &c.

The next morning I saw y^e^ garden of simples, rarely furnish'd w^th^ plants, and gave order to y^e^ gardener to make me a collection of them for an *hortus hyemalis*, by permission of y^e^ Cavalier Dr. Veslingius, then Prefect and Botanic Professor as well as of Anatomie.

This morning the Earle of Arundel,[1] now in this citty, a famous collector of paintings and antiquities, invited me to go with him to see y^e^ garden of Mantua, where as one enters stands a huge colosse of Hercules. From hence to a place where was a roome cover'd w^th^ a noble cupola, built purposely for musiq; the fillings up, or cove 'twixt the walls, were of urnes and earthen pots for y^e^ better sounding; it was also well painted. After dinner we walked to y^e^ palace of Foscari all' Arena, there remaining yet some appearances of an ancient theater, tho' serving now for a court onely before y^e^ house. There were now kept in it two eagles, a crane, a Mauritanian sheepe, a stag, and sundry foules, as in a vivarie.

[1] The celebrated Thomas Earl of Arundel, part of whose collection was eventually procured for the University of Oxford by Mr. Evelyn, and is distinguished by the name of *Marmora Arundeliana*.

Three days after, I return'd to Venice, and pass'd over to Murano, famous for y^e^ best glasses in the world, where having viewed their furnaces and seene their work, I made a collection of divers curiosities and glasses, which I sent for England by long sea. 'Tis the white flints they have from Pavia, which they pound and sift exceedingly small and mix with ashes made of a sea-weede brought out of Syria, and a white sand, that causes this manufacture to excell. The towne is a Podestaria by itselfe, at some miles distant on y^e^ sea from Venice, and like it built upon severall small islands. In this place are excellent oysters, small and well tasted like our Colchester, and they were the first, as I remember, that I ever could eate, for I had naturally an aversion to them.

At our returne to Venice we met several gondolas full of Venetian ladys, who come thus far in fine weather to take the aire, with musiq and other refreshments. Besides that Murano is itselfe a very nobly built towne, and has divers noblemen's palaces in it and handsome gardens.

In coming back we saw y^e^ ilands of St. Christopher and St. Michael, the last of which has a church inrich'd and incrusted with marbles and other architectonic ornaments, which the monkes very courteously shew'd us. It was built and founded by Margaret Æmiliana of Verona, a famous courtezan, who purchased a greate estate, and by this foundation hoped to commute for her sins. We then rowed by y^e^ iles of St. Nicholas, whose church with the monuments of the Justinian family entertain'd us awhile; and then got home.

The next morning Capt. Powell, in whose ship I was to embark towards Turkey, invited me on board, lying about 10 miles from Venice, where we had a dinner of English pouder'd beefe and other good

meate, with store of wine and greate gunns, as the manner is. After dinner the Captaine presented me with a stone he had lately brought from Grand Cairo, which he tooke from the mummy-pits, full of hieroglyphics; I drew it on paper with the true dimensions, and sent it in a letter to Mr. Henshaw to com'unicate to Father Kircher, who was then setting forth his greate work "Obeliscus Pamphilius," where it is described, but without mentioning my name. The stone was afterwards brought for me into England and landed at Wapping, where, before I could heare of it, it was broken into severall fragments and utterly defaced to my no small disappointment.

The boatswaine of y^e^ ship also gave me a hand and foote of a mummy, the nailes whereof had been overlaid with thin plates of gold, and the whole body was perfect when he brought it out of Egypt, but y^e^ avarice of y^e^ ship's crue broke it to pieces and divided the body among them. He presented me also with two Egyptian idols, and some loaves of y^e^ bread which the Coptics use in y^e^ holy sacrament, with other curiosities.

August 8th. I had newes from Padua of my election to be *Syndicus Artistarum*, which caused me after two days idling in a country villa with y^e^ Consul of Venice, to hasten thither, that I might discharge my selfe of that honour, because it was not only chargeable, but would have hindred my progresse, and they chose a Dutch gentleman in my place, which did not well please my countrymen, who had labour'd not a little to do me the greatest honour a stranger is capable of in that Universitie. Being freed from this impediment, and having taken leave of Dr. Janicius, a Polonian, who was going physician in y^e^ Venetian gallys to Candy, I went againe to Venice, and made a collection of severall books and some toys. Three days after, I return'd to Padua,

where I studied hard till the arival of Mr. Henshaw, Bramstone, and some other English gentlemen whom I had left at Rome, and who made me go back to Venice, where I spent some time in shewing them what I had seene there.

Sept. 26th. My dear friend, and till now my constant fellow traveller, Mr. Thicknesse, being obliged to returne to England upon his particular concerne, and who had served his Ma^{ty} in the warrs, I accompanied him part of his way, and on the 28th returned to Venice.

29th. Michaelmas day, I went with my Lord Mowbray (eldest son to the Earle of Arundell and a most worthy person) to see the collection of a noble Venetian, Sign. Rugini. He has a stately palace richly furnish'd with statues and heads of Roman Emperors, all plac'd in an ample roome. In the next was a cabinet of medals, both Latin and Greek, with divers curious shells and two faire pearles in two of them; but above all he abounded in things petrified, wallnuts, eggs in which y^{e} yealk rattl'd, a peare, a piece of beefe with y^{e} bones in it, an whole hedgehog, a plaice on a wooden trencher turn'd into stone and very perfect, charcoale, a morsel of cork yet retaining its levitie, sponges, and a piece of taffety part roll'd up, with innumerable more. In another cabinet supported by twelve pillars of oriental achat and rail'd about with chrystal, he shew'd us severall noble intaglias of achat, especialy a head of Tiberius, a woman in a bath wth her dog, some rare cornelians, onixes, chrystals, &c. in one of which was a drop of water not congeal'd, but moving up and down when shaken; above all, a diamond which had a very faire rubie growing in it; divers pieces of amber wherein were several insects, in particular one cut like an heart that contained in it a salamander without the least defect, and many pieces of mosaic. The fabriq of

this cabinet was very ingenious, set thick with achats, turquoises, and other precious stones, in the midst of w^ch^ was an antiq of a dog in stone scratching his eare, very rarely cut, and comparable to the greatest curiositie I had ever seene of that kind for y^e^ accuratenesse of y^e^ work. The next chamber had a bedstead all inlay'd w^th^ achats, chrystals, cornelians, lazuli, &c. esteemed worth 16,000 crownes; but for y^e^ most part y^e^ bedsteads in Italy are of forged iron gilded, since it is impossible to keepe the wooden ones from the chimices.

From hence I returned to Padoa, when that towne was so infested w^th^ souldiers that many houses were broken open in the night, some murders comitted, and the nunns next our lodging disturb'd, so as we were forc'd to be on our guard with pistols and other fire-armes to defend our doores; and indeede the students themselves take a barbarous liberty in the evenings when they go to their strumpets, to stop all that passe by the house where any of their companions in folly are with them; this costome they call *chi vali*, so as the streetes are very dangerous when the evenings grow dark; nor is it easy to reforme this intollerable usage where there are so many strangers of severall nations.

Using to drink my wine cool'd w^th^ snow and ice, as the manner here is, I was so afflicted with an angina and soare-throat, that it had almost cost me my life. After all the remedies Cavalier Veslingius, cheife professor here, could apply, old Salvatico (that famous physician) being call'd made me be cupp'd and scarified in the back in foure places, which began to give me breath, and consequently life, for I was in y^e^ utmost danger; but God being mercifull to me, I was after a fortnight abroad againe; when changing my lodging I went over against Pozzo Pinto, where I bought for winter provision 3000 weight of excellent

grapes, and pressed my owne wine, which proved incomparable liquor.

This was on 10 Oct. Soon after came to visite me from Venice Mr. Henry Howard, grandchild to y^e^ Earle of Arundel, Mr. Bramstone, son to y^e^ Lord Cheif Justice, and Mr. Henshaw, with whom I went to another part of y^e^ citty to lodge neere St. Catherine's, over against the monasterie of nunns, where we hired the whole house and lived very nobly. Here I learned to play on y^e^ theorba, taught by Sig. Dominico Bassano, who had a daughter married to a doctor of laws, that played and sung to nine severall instruments, with that skill and addresse as few masters in Italy exceeded her; she likewise compos'd divers excellent pieces. I had never seene any play on the Naples viol before. She presented me afterwards with two recitativos of hers, both words and musiq.

Oct. 31st. Being my birth-day, the nunns of St. Catharine's sent me flowers of silk-work. We were very studious all this winter till Christmas, when on twelfth day we invited all the English and Scotts in towne to a feast, which sunk our excellent wine considerably.

1645-46. In January, Sign. Molino was chosen Doge of Venice, but the extreame snow that fell, and the cold, hindered my going to see the solemnity, so as I stirred not from Padoa till Shrovetide, when all the world repair to Venice to see the folly and madnesse of the Carnevall; the women, men, and persons of all conditions disguising themselves in antiq dresses, with extravagant musiq and a thousand gambols, traversing the streetes from house to house, all places being then accessible and free to enter. Abroad, they fling eggs fill'd with sweete water, but sometimes not over sweete. They also have a barbarous costome of hunting bulls about y^e^ streetes

and piazzas, which is very dangerous, the passages being generally narrow. The youth of the severall wards and parishes contend in other masteries and pastimes, so that 'tis impossible to recount the universal madnesse of this place during this time of licence. The greate banks are set up for those who will play at bassett; the comedians have liberty, and the operas are open; witty pasquils are thrown about, and the mountebanks have their stages at every corner. The diversion which cheifely tooke me up was three noble operas, where were excellent voices and musiq, the most celebrated of which was the famous Anna Rencha, whom we invited to a fish dinner after four daies in Lent, when they had given over at the theater. Accompanied with an eunuch whom she brought with her, she entertain'd us with rare musiq, both of them singing to an harpsichord. It growing late, a gentleman of Venice came for her to shew her y^e^ gallys, now ready to saile for Candia. This entertainment produced a second, given us by y^e^ English consul of y^e^ merchants, inviting us to his house, where he had the Genoeze, the most celebrated base in Italy, who was one of the late opera band. This diversion held us so late at night, that conveying a gentlewoman who had supped with us to her gondola at the usual place of landing, we were shot at by two carbines from another gondola, in which were a noble Venetian and his courtezan unwilling to be disturb'd, which made us run in and fetch other weapons, not knowing what the matter was, till we were informed of the danger we might incur by pursuing it farther. Three dayes after this I tooke my leave of Venice, and went to Padoa to be present at the famous anatomie lecture, celebrated here with extraordinary apparatus, lasting almost a whole moneth. During this time I saw a woman, a child, and a man dissected with all the manual operations of y^e^ chirurgeon on

the humane body. The one was performed by Cavalier Veslingius and Dr. Jo. Athelsteinus Leonænas, of whom I purchased those rare tables of veines and nerves, and caused him to prepare a third of y^e^ lungs, liver, and nervi *sexti par:* w^th^ y^e^ gastric veines, which I sent into England, and afterwards presented to the Royall Society, being the first of that kind that had been seen there, and for aught I know in y^e^ world, tho' afterwards there were others. When y^e^ anatomie lectures, which were in y^e^ mornings, were ended, I went to see cures don in the hospitals; and certainely as there are y^e^ greatest helps and the most skilfull physitians, so there are the most miserable and deplorable objects to exercise upon. Nor is there any, I should think, so powerfull an argum^t^ against y^e^ vice reigning in this licentious country, as to be spectator of the miserie these poore creatures undergo. They are indeede very carefully attended, and with extraordinary charity.

March 20th. I return'd to Venice, where I tooke leave of my friends.

22nd. I was invited to excellent English potted venison at Mr. Hobbson's, a worthy merchant.

23rd. I tooke my leave of the Patriarche and y^e^ Prince of Wirtemburg, and Mon^s^ Grotius (son of the learned Hugo) now going as coñander to Candia, and in the afternoone received of Vandervoort my merchant, my bills of exchange of 300 ducats for my journey. He shew'd me his rare collection of Italian books, esteem'd very curious and of good value.

The next day I was conducted to the Ghetta, where the Jewes dwell together as in a tribe or ward, where I was present at a marriage. The bride was clad in white, sitting in a lofty chaire and cover'd with a white vaile; then two old Rabbies joyned them together, one of them holding a glasse of wine in his hand, which in the midst of the ceremony, pre-

tending to deliver to y^e^ woman, he let fall, the breaking whereof was to signify the frailty of our nature, and that we must expect disasters and crosses amidst all enjoyments. This don, we had a fine banquet, and were brought into y^e^ bride-chamber, where the bed was dress'd up w^th^ flowers, and the counterpan strewed in workes. At this ceremony we saw divers very beautifull Portuguez Jewesses, with whom we had some conversation.

I went to y^e^ Spanish Ambassador with Bonifacio his confessor, and obtained his passe to serve me in the Spanish dominions, without which I was not to travel, in this pompous form :

" Don Gaspar de Teves y Guzman, Marques de la Fuente, Señor Le Lerena y Verazuza, Comendador de Colos, en la Orden de Sant Yago, Alcalde Mayor perpetuo y Escrivano Mayor de la Ciudad de Sevilla, Gentilhombre de la Camara de S. M. su Azimilero Mayor, de su Consejo, su Embaxador extraordinario a los Principes de Italia, y Alemania, y a esta serenissima Republica de Venetia, &c. Haviendo de partir de esta Ciudad para La Milan el Sig^r^ Cavallero Evelyn Ingles, con un Criado, mi han pedido Passa-porte para los Estatos de su M. Le he mandado dar el presente, firmado de mi mano, y sellado con el sello de mis armas, por el qual encargo a todos los menestros de S. M. antes quien le presentase y a los que no lo son, supplico les dare passar libramente sin permitir que se le haya vexacion alguna antes mandar le las favor para continuar su viage. Fecho en Venecia a 24 del mes de Marzo dell an'o 1646. Mar. de la Fuentes, &c."

Having pack'd up my purchases of books, pictures, castes, treacle, &c. (the making and extraordinary ceremonie whereof I had ben curious to observe, for 'tis extremely pompous and worth seeing) I departed from Venice, accompanied with Mr. Waller (the celebrated poet), now newly gotten out of England, after y^e^ Parliament had extreamely worried him for attempting to put in execution y^e^ commission of aray, and for which the rest of his collegues were hanged by y^e^ rebells.

The next day I took leave of my comrades at

Padoa, and receiving some directions from Dr. Salvatico as to y^e^ care of my health, I prepared for my journey towards Milan.

It was Easter Monday that I was invited to breakfast at the Earle of Arundel's.[1] I tooke my leave of him in his bed, where I left that greate and excellent man in teares on some private discourse of crosses that had befall'n his illustrious family, particularly the undutifullnesse of his grandson Philip's turning Dominican Frier (since Cardinal of Norfolk), and the miserie of his countrie now embroil'd in civil war. He caus'd his gentleman to give me directions, all written with his owne hand, what curiosities I should enquire after in my journey; and so, enjoyning me to write sometimes to him, I departed. There stayed for me below, Mr. Henry Howard (afterwards Duke of Norfolk), Mr. J. Digby son of Sir Kenelm Digby, and other gentlemen, who conducted me to the coach.

The famous lapidaries of Venice for false stones and pastes so as to emulate the best diamonds, rubies, &c. were Marco Terrasso and Gilbert.

An accompt of what Bills of Exchange I tooke up at Venice since my coming from Rome, till my departure from Padoa:

11 Aug^t^ 1645	200
7 Sept.	135
1 Oct^r^	100
15 Jan. 1646	100
23 Aprill	300
	835 Ducati di Banco.

In company then with Mr. Waller, one Capt. Wray (son of S^r^ Christ^r^. whose father had ben in

[1] Lassells, who travelled a short time after Mr. Evelyn, says, that the Earl died here, and that his bowels are buried under a black marble stone, inscribed, "Interiora Thomæ Howard Comitis Arondeliæ." P. 429.

armes against his Ma^{ty}, and therefore by no means wellcome to us), with Mr. Abdy, a modest and learned man, we got that night to Vincenza, passing by y^{e} Euganéan hills, celebrated for the prospects and furniture of rare simples, which we found growing about them. The wayes were something deepe, the whole country flat and even as a bowling green. The comon fields lie square, and are orderly planted wth fruite trees which the vines run and embrace for many miles, with delicious streams creeping along the ranges.

Vincenza is a citty in the Marquisate of Treviso, yet appertaining to y^{e} Venetians, full of gentlemen and splendid palaces, to which y^{e} famous Palladio, borne here, has exceedingly contributed, having ben the architect. Most conspicuous is the Hall of Justice; it has a toure of excellent work; the lower pillars are of the first order; those in the three upper corridors are Doric; under them are shops in a spacious piazza. The hall was built in imitation of that at Padoa, but of a nobler designe, *a la moderna*. The next morning we visited y^{e} theater, as being of that kind the most perfect now standing, and built by Palladio, in exact imitation of the ancient Romans, and capable of containing 5000 spectators. The sceane, w^{ch} is all of stone, represents an imperial citty, y^{e} order Corinthian, decorated with statues. Over the Scenario is inscribed, "Virtuti ac Genio Olympior: Academia Theatrum hoc a fundamentis erexit Palladio Architect: 1584." The sceane declines 11 foote, the *suffito* painted with cloudes. To this there joynes a spacious hall for sollemn days to ballot in, and a second for the Academics. In y^{e} Piazza is also the *podesta*, or governor's house, the *faciata* being of y^{e} Corinthian order, very noble. The Piazza itselfe is so large as to be capable of justs and tournaments, the nobility of this citty being exceedingly addicted

to this knight errantry and other martial diversions. In this place are two pillars in imitation of those at St. Marc's at Venice, bearing one of them a winged lion, the other the statue of St. Jo. Baptist.

In a word, this sweete towne has more well-built palaces than any of its dimensions in all Italy, besides a number begun and not yet finished (but of stately designe) by reason of the domestic dissentions 'twixt them and those of Brescia, fomented by y^e^ sage Venetians least by combining they might think of recovering their ancient liberty. For this reason also are permitted those disorders and insolences committed at Padoa among the youth of these two territories. It is no dishonor in this country to be some generations in finishing their palaces, that without exhausting themselves by a vast expence at once, they may at last erect a sumptuous pile. Count Oleine's palace is neere perfected in this manner. Count Ulmarini[1] is more famous for his gardens, being without y^e^ walls, especialy his *cedrario* or conserve of oranges eleaven score of my paces long, set in order and ranges, making a canopy all the way by their intermixing branches for more than 200 of my single paces, and which being full of fruite and blossoms was a most delicious sight. In the middle of this garden was a cupola made of wyre, supported by slender pillars of brick, so closely cover'd with ivy, both without and within, that nothing was to be perceived but greene; 'twixt the arches there dangled festoones of the same. Here is likewise a most inextricable labyrinth.

I had in this towne recommendation to a very civil and ingenious apothecarie call'd Angelico, who had a pretty collection of paintings. I would faine have visited a palace call'd the Rotunda, which was

[1] Lascells calls him Valmerana, p. 435.

a mile out of towne belonging to Count Martio Capra, but one of our companions hastning to be gone, and little minding any thing save drinking and folly, caus'd us to take coach sooner than we should have done.

A little from the towne we pass'd y^e^ Campo Martio, set out in imitation of ancient Rome, wherein y^e^ noblesse exercise their horses, and the ladys make the *corso;* it is entered by a stately triumphal arch, y^e^ invention of Palladio.

Being now set out for Verona, about midway we din'd at Ostaria Nova, and came late to our resting-place, which was the Cavaletto, just over the monument of the Scaligeri,[1] formerly Princes of Verona, adorned with many devices in stone of ladders, alluding to y^e^ name.

Early next morning we went about y^e^ citty, which is built on y^e^ gentle declivity and bottome of an hill, inviron'd in part with some considerable mountaines and downes of fine grass like some places in y^e^ south of England, and on the other side having the rich plaine where Caius Marius overthrew y^e^ Cimbrians. The citty is divided in y^e^ midst by y^e^ river Athesis, over which are divers stately bridges, and on its banks are many goodly palaces, whereof one is well painted in *chiaro oscuro* on the outside, as are divers in this drie climate of Italy.

The first thing y^t^ engaged our attention and wonder too, was the amphitheater, which is the most entire of ancient remaines now extant. The inhabitants call it the Arena: it has two porticos, one within y^e^ other, and is 34 rods long, 22 in bredth, with 42 ranks of stone benches or seates which reach to y^e^ top. The vastnesse of y^e^ marble stones is stupendious. "L. V. Flaminia Consul. ano. urb. con. LIII." This I esteem to be one of the noblest antiquities in

[1] Or della Scala.

Europ, it is so vast and intire, having escaped the ruines of so many other public buildings for above 1400 yeares.

There are other arches, as that of y^e^ victorie of Marius; temples, aquæducts, &c. shewing still considerable remaines in severall places of the towne, and how magnificent it has formerly ben. It has three strong castles, and a large and noble wall. Indeede, the whole citty is bravely built, especially y^e^ Senate house, where we saw those celebrated statues of Cornelius Nepos, Emilius Marcus, Plinius, and Vitruvius, all having honoured Verona by their birth, and of later date Julius Cæsar Scaliger, that prodigie of learning.

In y^e^ evening we saw y^e^ garden of Count Giusti's villa, where are walks cut out of the maine rock, from whence we had y^e^ pleasant prospect of Mantua and Parma, though at greate distance. At the entrance of this garden growes the goodliest cypresse I fancy in Europ, cut in pyramid; 'tis a prodigious tree both for breadth and height, entirely cover'd and thick to y^e^ base.

Dr. Cortone, a civilian, shew'd us amongst other rarities a St. Dorothea of Raphael. We could not see the rare drawings, especialy of Parmensis, belonging to Dr. Marcello, another advocate, on account of his absence.

Verona deserv'd all those elogies Scaliger has honoured it with, for in my opinion the situation is the most delightfull I ever saw, it is so sweetly mixed with rising ground and vallies, so elegantly planted with trees on which Bacchus seems riding as it were in triumph every autumn, for the vines reach from tree to tree; here of all places I have seene in Italy would I fix a residence. Well has that learn'd man given it the name of y^e^ very eye of

Ocelle mundi, Sidus Itali cœli,
Flos Urbium, flos corniculumq' amœnum,
Quot sunt, eruntve, quot fuere, Verona.

The next morning we travell'd over the downes where Marius fought, and fancied ourselves about Winchester, and the country towards Dorsetshire. We dined at an inn call'd Cavalli Caschieri, neere Peschiera, a very strong fort of the Venetian Republic, and neere the Lago di Garda, which disembogues into that of Mantua, neere 40 miles in length, highly spoken of by my Lord Arundel to me, as the most pleasant spot in Italy, for which reason I observ'd it with the more diligence, alighting out of the coach and going up to a grove of cypresses growing about a gentleman's country house, from whence indeede it presents a most surprizing prospect. The hills and gentle risings about it produce oranges, citrons, olives, figs, and other tempting fruits, and the waters abound in excellent fish, especialy troutts. In y^e^ middle of this lake stands Sermonea on an island; here Capt. Wray bought a pretty nag of the master of our inn where we dined, for eight pistoles, which his wife, our hostesse, was so unwilling to part with, that she did nothing but kisse and weepe and hang about the horse's neck till the captaine rode away.

We came this evening to Brescia, which next morning we traverst according to our custom in search of antiquities and new sights. Here I purchas'd of old Lazarino Cominazzo my fine carabine, which cost me 9 pistoles, this citty being famous for these fire-armes, and that workman, with Jo. Bap. Franco, the best esteem'd. The city consists most in artists, every shop abounding in gunns, swords, armorers, &c. Most of the workmen come out of Germanie. It stands in a fertile plaine, yet y^e^ castle is built on an hill. The streetes abound in faire

fountaines. The Torre della Pallada is of a noble Tuscan order, and the Senate-house is inferior to few. The piazza is but indifferent; some of the houses arched as at Padoa. The Cathedrall was under repaire. We would from hence have visited Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, &c. but the banditti and other dangerous parties being abroad, committing many enormities, we were content with a Pisgah sight of them.

We din'd next day at Ursa Vecchia, and after dinner pass'd by an exceeding strong fort of y^e^ Venetians cal'd Ursa Nova, on their frontier. Then by the river Oglio and so by Sonano, where we enter the Spanish dominions, and that night ariv'd at Crema, which belongs to Venice, and is well defended. The podesta's palace is finely built, and so is y^e^ Domo or Cathedral and the tower to it, with an ample piazza.

Early next day, after 4 miles riding, we enter'd into the State of Milan, and pass'd by Lodi,[1] a greate citty famous for cheese little short of the best Parmeggiano. We din'd at Marignano, 10 miles before coming to Milan, where we met halfe a dozen suspicious cavaliers, who yet did us no harme. Then passing as through a continual garden, we went on with exceeding pleasure, for it is the paradise of Lombardy, the highways as even and straite as a line, the fields to a vast extent planted with fruit about the inclosures, vines to every tree at equal distances, and water'd with frequent streames. There was likewise much corne, and olives in aboundance. At approch of y^e^ citty some of our company, in dread of y^e^ Inquisition (severer here than in all Spain), thought of throwing away some Protestant books

[1] Celebrated for the victory gained by Bonaparte over the Austrians in 1796.

and papers. We arived about 3 in the afternoone, when the officers search'd us thoroughly for prohibited goods, but finding we were only gentlemen travellers, dismiss'd us for a small reward, and we went quietly to our inn, the Three Kings, where for that day we refreshed ourselves, as we had neede. The next morning we delivered our letters of recommendation to y^e^ learned and courteous Ferarius, a Doctor of the Ambrosian College, who conducted us to all the remarkable places of the towne, the first of which was the famous Cathedral. We enter'd by a portico so little inferior to y^t^ of Rome, that when it is finish'd it will be hard to say which is y^e^ fairest; the materials are all of white and black marble, with columns of great height of Egyptian granite. The outside of the church is so full of sculpture, that you may number 4000 statues all of white marble, amongst w^ch^ that of St. Bartholomew is esteemed a masterpiece. The church is very spacious, almost as long as St. Peter's at Rome, but not so large. About the quire the sacred storie is finely sculptured in snow-white marble, nor know I where it is exceeded. About y^e^ body of the church are the miracles of St. Char. Boromeo, and in the vault beneath is his body before the high altar, grated, and inclos'd in one of y^e^ largest chrystals in Europe. To this also belongs a rich treasure. The cupola is all of marble within and without, and even cover'd with great planks of marble, in the Gotick designe. The windows are most beautifully painted. Here are two very faire and excellent organs. The fabriq is erected in the midst of a faire piazza, and in the center of the citty.

Hence we went to the Palace of the Archbishop, which is a quadrangle, the architecture of Theobaldi, who design'd much for Philip II. in the Escurial, and has built much in Milan. Hence into y^e^ Governor's

Palace, who was Constable of Castile; tempted by the glorious tapissries and pictures, I adventur'd so far alone, that peeping into a chamber where the greate man was under the barber's hands, he sent one of his negros (a slave) to know what I was; I made the best excuse I could, and that I was only admiring the pictures, which he returning and telling his lord, I heard the Governor reply that I was a spie, on which I retir'd with all the speede I could, pass'd the guard of Swisse, got into the streete, and in a moment to my company, who were gone to the Jesuites church, which in truth is a noble structure, the front especialy, after y^e^ moderne. After dinner we were conducted to St. Celso, a church of rare architecture, built by Bramante; the carvings of the marble *faciata* are by Annibal Fontana, whom they esteeme at Milan equal to the best of the ancients. In a roome joyning to the church is a marble Madona like a Colosse, of the same sculptor's work, w^ch^ they will not expose to the aire. There are two *sacristias*, in one of which is a fine Virgin of Leonardo da Vinci, in the other is one by Raphael d'Urbino, a piece which all the world admires. The Sacristan shew'd us a world of rich plate, jewells, and embroder'd copes, which are kept in presses.

Next we went to see y^e^ Greate Hospital, a quadrangular cloyster of a vast compasse, a truly royal fabric, with an annual endowment of 50,000 crownes of gold. There is in the middle of it a crosse building for the sick, and just under it an altar so plac'd as to be seene in all places of y^e^ Infirmarie.

There are divers colleges built in this quarter, richly provided for by y^e^ same Borromeo and his nephew y^e^ last Card^l^ Frederico, some not yet finish'd, but of excellent designe.

In St. Eustorgio, they tell us, formerly lay the bodyes of the 3 Magi, since translated to Colin

[Cologne] in Germany; they however preserve y^e^ tomb, which is a square stone, on which is engraven a star, and under it, "Sepulchrum trium Magorum."

Passing by St. Laurence we saw 16 columns of marble, and y^e^ ruins of a Temple of Hercules, with this inscription yet standing:

"Imp. Cæsari L. Aurelio Vero Aug. Arminiaco Medico Parthico Max. Trib. Pot. VII. Imp. IIII. Cos. III. P. P. Divi Antonini Pij Divi Hadriani Nepoti Divi Trajani Parthici Pro Nepoti Divi Nervæ Abnepoti Dec. Dec."

We concluded this day's wandring at the Monasterie of Madona dell Gratia, and in the refectorie admir'd that celebrated Cœna Domini of Leonardo da Vinci, which takes up the intire wall at the end, and is the same that the greate virtuoso Francis the First of France was so enamour'd of, that he consulted to remove the whole wall by binding it about with ribs of iron and timber to convey it into France. It is indeede one of the rarest paintings that was ever executed by Leonardo, who was long in y^e^ service of that Prince, and so deare to him that y^e^ King coming to visite him in his old age and sicknesse, he expired in his armes. But this incomparable piece is now exceedingly impair'd.[1]

Early next morning came the learned Dr. Ferarius

[1] It is not noticed in the Painter's Voyage of Italy, published 1679, probably from its decay. The painting is still there, but having been often retouched, on account of the dampness of the wall, is certainly not what it once was. The picture has been again drawn into notice in England from the magnificent print of it lately engraved in Italy by Raphael Morghen, which is esteemed one of the finest works of art in this kind that has ever been executed. There is also an old engraving from it by Peter Soutman, but which by no means exhibits a true delineation of the characters of the piece, as designed by Leonardo.

to visite us, and took us in his coach to see the Ambrosian Librarie, where Card[l] Fred. Borromeo had expended so vast a sum on this building and in furnishing with curiosities, especially paintings and drawings of inestimable value amongst painters. It is a schole fit to make the ablest artists. There are many rare things of Hans Breughel, and amongst them y[e] Four Elements. In this room stands the glorious [boasting] inscription of Cavaliero Galeazzo Arconati, valueing his gift to the librarie of severall drawings by Da Vinci, but these we could not see, the keeper of them being out of towne and he always carrying the keys with him; but my Lord Martial, who had seene them, told me all but one booke are small, that an huge folio contain'd 400 leaves full of stratches of Indians, &c. but whereas the inscription pretends that our King Charles had offer'd £.1,000 for them, the truth is, and my Lord himselfe told me, that it was he who treated with Galeazzo for himselfe in the name and by permission of the King, and that the Duke of Feria, who was then Governour, should make the bargain: but my Lord having seene them since, did not think them of so much worth.

In the great roome, where is a goodly librarie, on y[e] right hand of y[e] doore, is a small wainscot closset furnish'd w[th] rare manuscripts. Two original letters of y[e] Grand Signor were shew'd us, sent to two Popes, one of which was (as I remember) to Alex[r] VI. [Borgia], and the other mentioning the head of the launce w[ch] pierc'd our B. Saviour's side as a present to y[e] Pope: I would faine have gotten a copy of them, but could not; I hear, however, that they are since translated into Italian, and that therein is a most honourable mention of Christ.

We revisited St. Ambrose's church. The high

altar is supported by 4 porphyrie columns, and under it lye the remaines of that holy man. Neere it they shew'd us a pit or well (an obscure place it is) where they say St. Ambrose baptized St. Augustine, and recited y^e^ *Te Deum*, for so imports the inscription. The place is also famous for some Councils that have ben held here, and for the coronation of divers Italian Kings and Emperors, receiving the iron crown from the Archbishop of this See.[1] They shew the History by Josephus written on the bark of trees. The high altar is wonderfully rich.

Milan is one of the most princely citties in Europe: it has no suburbs, but is circled w^th^ a stately wall for 10 miles, in y^e^ center of a country that seemes to flow with milk and honey. The aire is excellent; the fields fruitfull to admiration, the market abounding with all sorts of provisions. In the citty are neere 100 churches, 71 monasteries, and 40,000 inhabitants; it is of a circular figure, fortified with bastions, full of sumptuous palaces and rare artists, especialy for works in chrystal, which is here cheape, being found among the Alpes. They have curious straw worke among the nunns, even to admiration. It has a good river, and a citadell at some small distance from y^e^ citty, commanding it, of greate strength for its works and munition of all kinds. It was built by Galeatius the Second, and consists of 4 bastions, and works at y^e^ angles and fronts; the graff is fac'd with brick to a very great depth; has 2 strong towres as one enters, and within is another fort, and spacious lodgings for y^e^ souldiers and for exercising them. No accommodation for strength is wanting, and all exactly uniforme. They have here also all sorts of work and tradesmen, a greate magazine of armes and provisions. The fosse is of spring water, with a mill for grinding corn, and the ramparts vaulted under-

[1] Bonaparte took it and put it on his own head.

neath. Don Juan Vasques Coronada was now Governor; the garrison Spaniards onely.

There is nothing better worth seeing than the collection of Sig^r. Septalla,[1] a canon of St. Ambrose, famous over Christendome for his learning and virtues. Amongst other things he shew'd us an Indian wood that has the perfect scent of civet; a flint or pebble, that has a quantity of water in it, w^ch is plainly to be seen, it being cleare as achat; divers chrystals that have water moving in them, some of them having plants, leaves, and hogs bristles in them; much amber full of insects, and divers things of woven amianthus.[2]

Milan is a sweete place, and tho' the streetes are narrow they abound in rich coaches, and are full of noblesse, who frequent the course every night. Walking a turn in the portico before y^e dome, a cavaliero who pass'd by hearing some of us speaking English, looked a good while earnestly on us, and by and by sending his servant desir'd we would honour him the next day at dinner. We looked on this as an odd invitation, he not speaking to us himselfe, but we returned his civility with thanks, tho' not fully resolv'd what to do, or indeed what might be the meaning of it in this jealous place; but on enquirie 'twas told us he was a Scots Colonel who had an honourable command in the citty, so that we agreed to go.

[1] The Painter's Voyage particularizes 85 pictures in this Collection, but few of them by great masters.

[2] There are two descriptive Catalogues of the Museum; in its day one of the most celebrated in all Italy; both are in small quarto, the one in Latin, the later and most complete one in Italian. To this is prefixed a large inside view of the Museum, exhibiting its curious contents of busts, statues, pictures, urns, and every kind of rarity natural and artificial.

Keysler in his Travels laments the not being able to see it, on account of a law-suit then depending, and it has been long since dispersed, probably in consequence of it.

This afternoone we were wholly taken up in seeing an opera represented by some Neapolitans, performed all in excellent music with rare sceanes, in which there acted a celebrated beauty.

Next morning we went to the Colonel's, who had sent his servant againe to conduct us to his house, which we found to be a noble palace richly furnish'd. There were other guests, all souldiers, one of them a Scotchman, but we could not learn one of their names. At dinner he excus'd his rudenesse that he had not himselfe spoken to us, telling us it was his custome when he heard of any English travellers (who but rarely would be knowne to passe thro' that citty for feare of the Inquisition) to invite them to his house, where they might be free. We had a sumptuous dinner, and the wine was so tempting that after some healths had gon about, and we had risen from table, the Colonel led us into his hall, where there hung up divers colours, saddles, bridles, pistols, and other armes, being trophies which he had taken with his owne hands from the enemy; amongst them he would needs bestow a paire of pistols on Capt. Wray, one of our fellow-travellers and a good drinking gentleman, and on me a Turkish bridle woven with silk and very curiously emboss'd, with other silk trappings, to which hung a halfe moone finely wrought, which he had taken from a basshaw whom he had slaine. With this glorious spoile I rid the rest of my journey as far as Paris, and brought it afterwards into England. He then shew'd us a stable of brave horses, with his menage and cavalerizzo. Some of the horses he caus'd to be brought out, which he mounted, and performed all the motions of an excellent horseman. When this was don, and he had alighted, contrary to the advice of his groome and page, who knew y^e^ nature of y^e^ beast, and that their master was a little spirited with wine, he would have a fiery horse that

had not yet been menaged and was very ungovernable, but was otherwise a very beautifull creature; this he mounting, y^e^ horse getting y^e^ reines in a full carriere, rose so desperately that he fell quite back, crushing the Colonell so forceably against the wall of the menage, that tho' he sat on him like a Centaure, yet recovering the jade on all foure againe, he desir'd to be taken down and so led in, where he cast himself on a pallet, and with infinite lamentations, after some time we tooke leave of him, being now speechlesse. The next morning going to visite him, we found before the doore the canopie which they usually carry over y^e^ host, and some with lighted tapers, which made us suspect he was in very sad condition, and so indeede we found him, an Irish Frier standing by his bedside as confessing him, or at least disguising a confession, and other ceremonies us'd *in extremis*, for we afterwards learn'd that the gentleman was a Protestant and had this Frier his confidant, which was a dangerous thing at Milan, had it ben but suspected. At our entrance he sighed grievously and held up his hands, but was not able to speake. After vomiting some blood, he kindly tooke us all by the hand, and made signes that he should see us no more, which made us take our leave of him with extreame reluctancy and affliction for the accident. This sad disaster made us consult about our departure as soon as we could, not knowing how we might be enquir'd after or engag'd, the Inquisition being so cruelly formidable and inevitable on the least suspicion. The next morning, therefore, discharging our lodgings, we agreed for a coach to carry us to the foote of y^e^ Alpes, not a little concern'd for the death of y^e^ Colonell, which we now heard of, and who had so courteously entertain'd us.

The first day we got as far as Castellanza, by which runs a considerable river into Lago Maggiore; here

at dinner were two or three Jesuites, who were very pragmatical and inquisitive, whom we declin'd conversation with as decently as we could: so we pursu'd our journey thro' a most fruitfull plaine, but the weather was wet and uncomfortable. At night we lay at Sesto.

The next morning leaving our coach we embarked in a boate to carry us over y^e^ lake (being one of the largest in Europe), and whence we could see the touring Alps, and amongst them the greate San Bernardo, esteem'd y^e^ highest mountaine in Europe, appearing to be some miles above the clouds. Thro' this vast water passes the river Ticinus, w^ch^ discharges itselfe into y^e^ Po, by which meanes Helvetia transports her merchandizes into Italy, which we now begin to leave behind us.

Having now sailed about two leagues, we were hal'd ashore at Arona, a strong towne belonging to the Dutchy of Milan, were being examin'd by the Governor and paying a small duty, we were dismiss'd. Opposite to this fort is Angiera, another small towne, the passage very pleasant with the prospect of the Alps cover'd with pine and fir trees, and above them snow. We pass'd the pretty Island Isabella,[1] about the middle of the lake, on which is a faire house built on a mount, indeede the whole island is a mount ascended by several terraces and walks all set about with orange and citron trees.

The next we saw was Isola,[1] and we left on our right hand the Isle of St. Jovanni;[1] and so sailing by another small towne built also on an island, we arriv'd at night at Margazzo, an obscure village at the end of the lake, and at the very foote of the Alpes, which now rise as it were suddenly after some hundreds of miles of the most even country in the world, and

[1] These are called "the Borromean Islands in the Lago Maggiore, belonging to the great Milanese family of Borromeo."

where there is hardly a stone to be found, as if Nature had here swept up the rubbish of the earth in the Alpes to forme and clerre the plaines of Lombardy, which we had hitherto pass'd since our coming from Venice. In this wretched place I lay on a bed stuff'd with leaves, which made such a crackling, and did so prick my skin thro' the tick, that I could not sleepe. The next morning I was furnish'd with an asse, for we could not get horses; instead of stirrups we had ropes tied with a loope to put our feete in, which supplied the place of other trappings. Thus with my gallant steed, bridled with my Turkish present, we pass'd thro' a reasonably pleasant but very narrow valley till we came to Duomo, where we rested, and having shew'd the Spanish passe, y^e^ Governor would presse another on us that his Secretary might get a crowne. Here we exchang'd our asses for mules, sure footed on the hills and precipices, being accustom'd to passe them; hiring a guide, we were brought that night thro' very steepe, craggy and dangerous passages to a village called Vedra, being the last of the King of Spain's dominions in y^e^ Dutchy of Milan. We had a very infamous wretched lodging.

The next morning we mounted again thro' strange, horrid, and fearfull craggs and tracts, abounding in pine trees, and onely inhabited by beares, wolves, and wild goates; nor could we any where see above a pistol shoote before us, the horizon being terminated with rocks and mountaines, whose tops cover'd with snow seem'd to touch y^e^ skies, and in many places pierced the cloudes. Some of these vast mountaines were but one entire stone, 'twixt whose clefts now and then precipitated greate cataracts of melted snow and other waters, which made a terrible roaring, echoing from y^e^ rocks and cavities; and these waters in some places breaking in the fall wett us as if we had pass'd thro' a mist, so as we could

neither see nor heare one another, but trusting to our honest mules we jogged on our way. The narrow bridges in some places made onely by felling huge fir trees and laying them athwart from mountaine to mountaine over cataracts of stupendious depth, are very dangerous, and so are the passages and edges made by cutting away the maine rock; others in steps; and in some places we passe betweene mountains that have ben broken and fallen on one another, which is very terrible, and one had neede of a sure foote and steady head to climb some of these precipices, besides that they are harbours for beares and wolves who have sometimes assaulted travellers. In these straights we frequently alighted, now freezing in the snow, and anon frying by the reverberation of the sun against the cliffs as we descend lower, when we meete now and then a few miserable cottages so built upon the declining of the rocks as one would expect their sliding down. Amongst these inhabite a goodly sort of people having monstrous gullets or wenns of fleshe growing to their throats, some of which I have seene as big as an hundred pound bag of silver hanging under their chinns; among the women especialy, and that so ponderous as that to ease them many wear linen cloth bound about their head and coming under the chin to support it; but *quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus?* Their drinking so much snow-water is thought to be the cause of it; the men using more wine are not so strumous as the women. The truth is, they are a peculiar race of people, and many greate water drinkers here have not these prodigious tumours; it runs as we say in the bloud, and is a vice in the race, and renders them so ugly, shrivel'd, and deform'd by its drawing the skin of the face downe, that nothing can be more fritefull; to this add a strange puffing dress, furrs, and y^{t} barbarous language, being a mixture of

corrupt High German, French, and Italian. The people are of greate stature, extremely fierce and rude, yet very honest and trustie.

This night thro' almost inaccessible heights we came in prospect of Mons Sempronius, now Mount Sampion, which has on its sum'it a few hutts and a chapell. Approaching this, Captain Wray's water-spaniel (a huge filthy cur that had follow'd him out of England) hunted an heard of goates downe the rocks into a river made by the melting of the snow. Ariv'd at our cold harbour (tho' the house had a stove in every roome) and supping on cheese and milk with wretched wine, we went to bed in cupbords[1] so high from the floore that we climb'd them by a ladder; we were covered with feathers, that is we lay between two ticks stuff'd with them, and all little enough to keepe one warme. The cielings of the rooms are strangely low for those tall people. The house was now, in September, halfe cover'd with snow, nor is there a tree or a bush growing within many miles.

From this uncomfortable place we prepared to hasten away the next morning, but as we were getting on our mules, comes a huge young fellow demanding mony for a goat w^ch^ he affirm'd that Captain Wray's dog had kill'd; expostulating y^e^ matter and impatient of staying in the cold, we set spurrs and endeavour'd to ride away, when a multitude of people being by this time gotten together about us (for it being Sonday morning and attending for the priest to say masse) they stopp'd our mules, beate us off our saddles, and disarming us of our carbines, drew us into one of the roomes of our lodging, and set a guard upon us. Thus we continu'd prisoners till masse was ended, and then came halfe a score grim Swisse, who taking on them to be magistrates sate downe on the table, and condemn'd

[1] They have such in Wales.

us to pay a pistole for the goate and ten more for attempting to ride away, threat'ning that if we did not pay it speedily, they would send us to prison and keep us to a day of publiq justice, where, as they perhaps would have exaggerated the crime, for they pretended we had prim'd our carbines and would have shot some of them (as indeede the Captaine was about to do) we might have had our heads cut off, as we were told afterwards, for that amongst these rude people a very small misdemeanor dos often meete that sentence. Tho' the proceedings appear'd highly unjust,[1] on consultation among ourselves we thought it safer to rid ourselves out of their hands and the trouble we were brought into, and therefore we patiently layd down the mony and with fierce countenances had our mules and armes deliver'd to us, and glad we were to escape as we did. This was cold entertainment, but our journey after was colder, the rest of the way having ben as they told us cover'd with snow since the Creation; no man remember'd it to be without; and because by the frequent snowing the tracts are continualy fill'd up, we passe by severall tall masts set up to guide travellers, so as for many miles they stand in ken of one another like to our beacons. In some places where there is a cleft between two mountaines the snow fills it up, whilst the bottome being thaw'd leaves as it were a frozen arch of snow, and that so hard as to beare the greatest weight; for as it snows often, so it perpetualy freezes, of which I was so sensible that it flaw'd the very skin of my face.

Beginning now to descend a little, Capt. Wray's horse (that was our sumpter and carried all our baggage) plunging thro' a bank of loose snow slid downe a frightfull precipice, which so incens'd the choleriq

[1] Surely these poor people were right, and this is not expressed with Mr. Evelyn's usual liberality.

cavalier his master, that he was sending a brace of bullets into the poore beast, least our guide should recover him and run away with his burden ; but just as he was lifting up his carbine we gave such a shout, and so pelted y^e^ horse with snow-balls, as with all his might plunging through the snow he fell from another steepe place into another bottome neere a path we were to passe. It was yet a good while ere we got to him, but at last we recover'd the place, and easing him of his charge hal'd him out of the snow, where he had ben certainly frozen in if we had not prevented it before night. It was as we judg'd almost two miles that he had slid and fall'n, yet without any other harme than the benuming of his limbs for y^e^ present, but with lusty rubbing and chafing he began to move, and after a little walking perform'd his journey well enough. All this way, affrited with the disaster of this horse, we trudg'd on foote driving our mules before us ; sometimes we fell, sometimes we slid thro' this ocean of snow, which after October is impassable. Towards night we came into a larger way, thro' vast woods of pines which clothe the middle parts of these rocks. Here they were burning some to make pitch and rosin, piling the knotty branches as we do to make charcoale, reserving what melts from them, which hardens into pitch. We pass'd several cascades of dissolv'd snow, that had made channels of formidable depth in y^e^ crevices of y^e^ mountaines, and with such a fearfull roaring as we could heare it for 7 long miles. It is from these sources that the Rhone and the Rhyne which passe through all France and Germanie, derive their originals. Late at night we got to a town called Briga at the foote of y^e^ Alpes, in the Valtoline. Almost every doore had nail'd on the outside and next y^e^ streete a beare's, wolfe's, or foxe's head, and divers of them all three ; a savage kind of

sight, but as the Alps are full of these beasts the people often kill them. The next morning we return'd our guide, and tooke fresh mules and another to conduct us to the Lake of Geneva, passing thro' as pleasant a country as that we had just travel'd was melancholy and troublesome. A strange and suddaine change it seem'd, for the reverberation of the sun-beames from the mountaines and rocks that like walls range it on both sides, not above two flight shots in bredth for a very great number of miles, renders y^e^ passage excessively hot. Thro' such extreames we continu'd our journey, that goodly river the Rhone gliding by us in a narrow and quiet channell almost in y^e^ middle of this Canton, fertilising the country for grasse and corne, which grow here in abundance.

We arriv'd this night at Sion, a pretty towne and citty, a bishop's seate, and the head of Valesia. There is a castle, and the Bishop who resides in it has both civill and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Our host, as the costome of these Cantons is, was one of the chiefest of the towne, and had ben a Colonell in France ; he treated us with extreame civility, and was so displeas'd at the usage we receiv'd at Mount Sampion, that he would needes gives us a letter to the Governor of the Country who resided at St. Maurice, which was in our way to Geneva, to revenge the affront. This was a true old blade, and had ben a very curious virtuoso, as we found by an handsome collection of books, medails, pictures, shells, and other antiquities. He shew'd two heads and hornes of the true capricorne, which animal he told us was frequently kill'd among y^e^ mountaines ; one branch of them was as much as I could well lift and neere as high as my head, not much unlike the greater sorte of goates, save that they bent forwards, by help whereof they climb up and hang on inaccessible rocks, from

whence the inhabitants now and then shoote them. They speak prodigious things of their leaping from crag to crag, and of their sure footing, notwithstanding their being cloven footed, unapt one would think to take hold and walke so steadily on those horrible ridges as they do. The Colonell would have given me one of these beames, but the want of a convenience to carry it along with me caus'd me to refuse his courtesie. He told me that in the castle there were some Roman and Christian antiquities, and he had some inscriptions in his owne garden. He invited us to his country-house, where he said he had better pictures and other rarities; but our time being short, I could not persuade my companions to stay and visite the places he would have had us seene, nor the offer he made to shew us the hunting of the beare, wolfe, and other wild beasts. The next morning, having presented his daughter, a pretty well-fashioned young woman, with a small rubie ring, we parted somewhat late from our generous host. Passing thro' the same pleasant vally betweene the horrid mountaines on either hand, like a gallery many miles in length, we got to Martigni, where also we were well entertain'd. The houses in this country are all built of firr boards planed within, low, and seldom above one story. The people very clownish and rustickly clad after a very odd fashion, for y^e^ most part in blew cloth, very whole and warme, with little variety or distinction 'twixt the gentlemen and common sort, by a law of their country being exceedingly frugal. Add to this, their greate honestie and fidelity, tho' exacting enough for what they part with. I saw not one beggar. We paied the value of 20 shill. English for a day's hire of one horse. Every man gos with a sword by his side, the whole country well disciplin'd, and indeed impregnable, which made the Romans have such ill successe against

them; one lusty Swisse at their narrow passages is sufficient to repell a legion. 'Tis a frequent thing here for a young tradesman or fermor to leave his wife and children for 12 or 15 yeares, and seeke his fortune in the warrs in Spaine, France, Italy, or Germanie, and then returne againe to work. I look upon this country to be the safest spot of all Europ, neither envyed nor envying; nor are any of them rich, nor poore; they live in greate simplicity and tranquillitie; and tho' of the 14 Cantons halfe be Roman Catholics, the rest Reformed, yet they mutualy agree, and are confederate with Geneva, and are its onely security against its potent neighbours, as they themselves are from being attack'd by the greater potentates, by the mutual jealousie of their neighbours, as either of them would be overbalanc'd should the Swisse, who are wholy mercenarie and auxiliaries, be subjected to France or Spaine.

We were now arriv'd at St. Maurice, a large handsome towne and residence of the President, where justice is don; to him we presented our letter from Sion, and made known the ill usage we had receiv'd for killing a wretched goate, which so incens'd him as he sware if we would stay he would not onely help us to our mony againe, but most severely punish the whole rabble; but our desire of revenge had by this time subsided, and glad we were to be gotten so neere France, which we reckon'd as good as home. He courteously invited us to dine with him, but we excus'd ourselves, and returning to our inn, whilst we were eating something before we tooke horse, the Governor had caus'd two pages to bring us a present of two great vessells of cover'd plate full of excellent wine, in which we drank his health, and rewarded y^{e} youthes; they were two vast bowles supported by two Swisses, handsomely wrought after the German manner. This civilitie and that of our host at Sion

perfectly reconcil'd us to the highlanders; and so proceeding on our journey we pass'd this afternoone thro' the gate which divides the Valois from the Dutchy of Savoy, into which we were now entering, and so thro' Montei we arriv'd that evening at Beveretta. Being extreamly weary and complaining of my head, and finding little accommodation in the house, I caus'd one of our hostesses daughters to be removed out of her bed and went immediately into it whilst it was yet warme, being so heavy with pain and drowsinesse that I would not stay to have the sheetes chang'd; but I shortly after payd dearly for my impatience, falling sick of the small pox so soon as I came to Geneva, for by the smell of frankincense and y^e^ tale y^e^ good woman told me of her daughter having had an ague, I afterwards concluded she had ben newly recover'd of the small pox. Notwithstanding this I went with my company the next day, hiring a bark to carry us over the lake; and indeede sick as I was, the weather was so serene and bright, the water so calme, and aire so temperate, that never had travellers a sweeter passage. Thus we sail'd the whole length of the lake, about 30 miles, the countries bordering on it (Savoy and Berne) affording one of the most delightfull prospects in the world, the Alps cover'd with snow, tho' at a greate distance yet shewing their aspiring tops. Thro' this lake the river Rhodanus passes with that velocity as not to mingle with its exceeding deep waters, which are very cleare, and breed the most celebrated troute for largenesse and goodness of any in Europe. I have ordinarily seene one of three foote in length sold in the market for a small price, and such we had in y^e^ lodging where we abode, which was at the White Crosse. All this while I held up tolerably, and the next morning having a letter for Sign^r^ John Diodati, the famous Italian minister and translator of the Holy Bible into that

language, I went to his house, and had a greate deal of discourse w^th^ that learned person. He told me he had been in England, driven by tempest into Deale, whilst sailing for Holland, that he had seene London, and was exceedingly taken with the civilities he receiv'd. He so much approv'd of our Church Government by Bishops, that he told me the French Protestants would make no scruple to submitt to it and all its pomp, had they a King of the Reform'd Religion as we had. He exceedingly deplor'd the difference now betweene his Majesty and the Parliament. After dinner came one Mons^r^ Saladine with his little pupil the Earle of Carnarvon, to visit us, offering to carry us to the principal places of the towne, but being now no more able to hold up my head, I was constrain'd to keepe my chamber, imagining that my very eyes would have dropp'd out; and this night I felt such a stinging about me that I could not sleepe. In the morning I was very ill, but sending for a doctor he persuaded me to be let bloud. He was a very learned old man, and as he said he had ben physician to Gustavus the greate King of Sweden, when he pass'd this way into Italy under y^e^ name of Mons^r^ Garse, the initial letters of Gustavus Adolphus Rex Sueciæ, and of our famous Duke of Buckingham on his returning out of Italy. He afterwards acknowledg'd that he should not have bled me had he suspected y^e^ small pox, which brake out a day after. He afterwards purg'd me and applied leaches, and God knows what this would have produc'd if the spots had not appear'd, for he was thinking of blooding me againe. They now kept me warme in bed for 16 daies, tended by a vigilant Swisse matron, whose monstrous throat, when I sometimes awak'd out of unquiet slumbers, would affright me. After the pimples were come forth, which were not many, I had much ease as to paine, but infinitely afflicted

with heat and noysomeness. By God's mercy after five weeks keeping my chamber I went abroad. Mons. Saladine and his lady sent me many refreshments. Mons. Le Chat, my physician, to excuse his letting me bloud told me it was so burnt and vicious as it would have prov'd the plague or spotted feaver had he proceeded by any other method. On my recovering sufficiently to go abroad, I dined at Mons' Saladine's, and in the afternoone went acrosse the water on the side of the lake, and tooke a lodging that stood exceedingly pleasant, about halfe a mile from the citty for the better ayring; but I stay'd onely one night, having no company there save my pipe; so the next day I caus'd them to row me about the lake as far as the greate stone which they call Neptune's Rock, and on which they say sacrifice was anciently offer'd to him. Thence I landed at certaine cherry-gardens and pretty villas by the side of the lake and exceedingly pleasant. Returning I visited their conservatories of fish; in which were troutes of 6 and 7 foote long *as they affirm'd.*

The Rhone, which parts y^e^ city in y^e^ middst, dips into a cavern underground about 6 miles from it, and afterwards rises againe and runns its open course like our Mole or Swallow by Dorking in Surrey. The next morning (being Thursday) I heard Dr. Diodati preach in Italian, many of that country, especialy of Lucca his native place, being inhabitants of Geneva and of the Reform'd Religion.

The towne lying between Germanie, France, and Italy, those three tongues are familiarly spoken by the inhabitants. 'Tis a strong well-fortifi'd city, part of it built on a rising ground. The houses are not despicable, but the high pent-houses (for I can hardly call them cloysters, being all of wood) thro' which the people passe drie and in the shade, winter and summer, exceedingly deforme the fronts of the build-

ings. Here are aboundance of booksellers, but their bookes are of ill impressions; these, with watches (of which store are made here), chrystal, and excellent screw'd guns, are the staple commodities. All provisions are good and cheape.

The towne-house is fairely built of stone; the portico has foure black marble columns, and on a table of the same under the citty arms, a demie eagle and a crosse between crosse-keyes, is a motto, "Post Tenebras Lux," and this inscription:

"Quum anno 1535 profligatâ Romanâ Anti-Christi Tyrannide, abrogatisq; ejus superstitionibus, sacro-sancta Christi Religio hic in suam puritatem, Ecclesiâ in meliorem ordinem singulari Dei beneficio repositâ, et simul pulsis fugatisq; hostibus, urbs ipsa in suam Libertatem, non sine insigni miraculo, restituta fuerit; Senatus Populusq; Genevensis Monumentum hoc, perpetuæ memoriæ causâ, fieri atque hoc loco erigi curavit, quo suam erga Deum gratitudinem ad posteros testatum fuerit."

The territories about the towne are not so large as many ordinary gentlemen have about their country farmes, for which cause they are in continual watch, especialy on the Savoy side; but in case of any siege the Swisse are at hand, as this inscription in the same place shews, towarde the streete:

"D. O. M. S.

Anno a verâ Religione divinitùs cum veteri Libertate Genevæ restitutâ, et quasi novo Jubileo ineunte, plurimis vitatis domi et foris insidiis et superatis tempestatibus, et Helvetiorum Primari Tigurini æquo jure in societatem perpetuam nobiscum venerint, et veteres fidissimi socii Bernenses prius vinculum novo adstrinxerint, S. P. Q. G. quod felix se velit D. O. M. tanti beneficii monumentum consecrarunt, anno temporis ultimi CIↃ.IↃ.XXXIV."

In the senat house were 14 antient urnes, dug up as they were removing earth in the fortifications.

A little out of the towne is a spacious field which they call Campus Martius; and well it may be so tearm'd, with better reason than that at Rome at present (which is no more a field, but all built into

streetes), for here on every Sonday after the evening devotions this precise people permitt their youths to exercise armes, and shoote in gunns and in the long and crosse bowes, in which they are exceedingly expert, reputed to be as dexterous as any people in the world. To encourage this, they yearely elect him who has won most prizes at the mark to be their king, as the king of the long-bow, gun, or crosse-bow. He then weares that weapon in his hat in gold w^th^ a crowne over it, made fast to the hat like a broach. In this field is a long house wherein their armes and furniture are kept in severall places very neately. To this joynes a hall where at certain times they meete and feast; in the glass windows are the armes and names of their kings [of armes]. At y^e^ side of the field is a very noble Pall-Mall, but it turns with an elbow. There is also a bowling-place, a tavern, and a true-table, and here they ride their menaged horses. It is also the usual place of publiq execution of those who suffer for any capital crime, tho' committed in another country, by which law divers fugitives have been put to death who have fled hither to escape punishment in their own country. Amongst other severe punishments here, adultery is death. Having seene this field and play'd a game at mall, I supped with Mr. Saladine.

On Sonday I heard Dr. Diodati preach in French, and after the French mode, in a gowne with a cape, and his hat on. The Church Government is severely Presbyterian, after the discipline of Calvin and Beza, who set it up, but nothing so rigid as either our Scots or English sectaries of that denomination. In y^e^ afternoone Mons^r^ Morice, a most learned young person and excellent poet, cheif Professor of the University, preach'd at St. Peter's, a spacious Gotick fabrick. This was heretofore a cathedral and a reverend pile. It has 4 turrets, on one of which stands

a continual sentinel; in another cannons are mounted. The church is very decent within; nor have they at all defaced y^e^ painted windows, which are full of pictures of saints; nor the stalls, which are all carv'd with y^e^ history of our B. Saviour.

In the afternoone I went to see the young townesmen exercise in Mars Field, where prizes were pewter plates and dishes; 'tis said that some have gain'd competent estates by what they have thus won. Here I first saw huge balistæ or crosse-bows shot in, being such as they formerly us'd in wars before greate guns were known; they were plac'd in frames, and had greate screws to bend them, doing execution at an incredible distance. They were most accurate at the long-bow and musket, rarely missing the smallest mark. I was as buisy with the carbine I brought from Brescia as any of them. After every shot I found them go into a long house and cleanse their guns before they charg'd againe.

On Monday I was invited to a little garden without y^e^ workes, where were many rare tulips, anemonies, and other choice flowers. The Rhone, running athwart y^e^ towne out of y^e^ Lake, makes halfe y^e^ citty a suburb, which in imitation of Paris they call St. Germain's Fauxbourg, and it has a church of the same name. On two wooden bridges that crosse the river are several water-mills, and shops of trades, especialy smiths and cuttlers; between the bridges is an island, in the midst of which is a very ancient tower, said to have been built by Julius Cæsar. At the end of the other bridge is y^e^ mint, and a faire sun-dial.

Passing againe by y^e^ Towne-house I saw a large crocodile hanging in chaines; and against the wall of one of the chambers, seaven judges were painted without hands, except one in the middle, who has but one hand; I know not y^e^ storie. The Arsenal is at the end of this building, well furnish'd and kept.

After dinner Mr. Morice led us to the colledge, a faire structure; in the lower part are the scholes which consist of 9 classes; and an hall above, where the students assemble; also a good library. They show'd us a very antient Bible of about 300 yeares old in the vulgar French, and a MS. in y^e^ old Monkish character: here have the Professors their lodgings. I also went to the hospital, which is very commodious; but the Bishop's palace is now a prison.

This towne is not much celebrated for beautifull women, for even at this distance from the Alps the gentlewomen have something full throates, but our Captain Wray (afterwards Sir W^m^. eldest son of that Sir Christopher, who had both ben in armes against his Majesty for y^e^ Parliament) fell so mightily in love with one of Mons^r^. Saladine's daughters, that with much persuasion he could not be prevail'd on to think on his journey into France, y^e^ season now coming on extremely hot.

My sicknesse and abode here cost me 45 pistoles of gold to my host, and five to my honest doctor, who for six weekes attendance and the apothecarie thought it so generous a reward, that at my taking leave he presented me with his advice for the regimen of my health, written with his own hand in Latine. This regimen I much observ'd, and I bless God pass'd the journey with inconvenience from sicknesse, but it was an extraordinarily hot unpleasant season and journey, by reason of y^e^ craggie waies.

July 5th, 1646, we tooke, or rather purchas'd, a boat, for it could not be brought back against the streame of the Rhone. We were two days going to Lyons, passing many admirable prospects of rocks and cliffs, and neere the towne downe a very steepe declivitie of water for a full mile. From Lyons we proceeded the next morning, taking horse to Rohan,

and lay that night at Feurs. At Rohan we indulged ourselves with y^e^ best y^t^ all France affords, for here y^e^ provisions are choice and plentifull, so as the supper we had might have satisfied a prince. We lay in damask beds, and were treated like emperours. The towne is one of the neatest built in all France, on y^e^ brink of the Loire; and here we agreed with an old fisher to row us as farr as Orleans. The first night we came as far as Nevers, early enough to see the towne, the Cathedral (St. Cyre), the Jesuits Colledge, and the Castle, a Palace of the Duke's, with the bridge to it nobly built.

The next day we pass'd by La Charite, a pretty towne somewhat distant from the river. Here I lost my faithfull spaniel (Piccioli), who had follow'd me from Rome; it seemes he had ben taken up by some of the Governor's pages or footmen, without recovery, which was a greate displeasure to me, because the curr had many usefull qualities.

The next day we ariv'd at Orleans, taking our turns to row, of which I reckon my share came to little less than 20 leagues. Sometimes we footed it thro' pleasant fields and medows; sometimes we shot at fowls and other birds; nothing came amiss: sometimes we play'd at cards, whilst others sung or were composing verses, for we had y^e^ greate poet Mr. Waller in our companie, and some other ingenious persons.

At Orleans we abode but one day; the next, leaving our mad Captaine behind us, I ariv'd at Paris, rejoic'd that after so many disasters and accidents in a tedious peregrination, I was gotten so neere home, and here I resolv'd to rest myselfe before I went further.

It was now October, and the onely time that in my whole life I spent most idly, tempted from my more profitable recesses; but I soone recover'd my

better resolutions and fell to my study, learning the High Dutch and Spanish tongues, and now and then refreshing my daunceing, and such exercises as I had long omitted, and w^ch^ are not in much reputation amongst the sober Italians.

January 28th, 1647, I chang'd my lodging in the Place de Mons^r^. de Metz neere the Abby of S^t^ Germains; and thence on the 12^th^ Feb^y^ to another in Rue Columbier, where I had a very faire appartement which cost me 4 pistoles per moneth. The 18th I frequented a course of Chemistrie, the famous M^r^. Le Febure operating upon most of the nobler processes. March 3, Mons^r^ Mercure began to teach me on y^e^ lute, tho' to small perfection.

In May I fell sick and had very weak eyes, for which I was foure times let blood.

May 22nd. My valet (Hebert) robb'd me of cloths and plate to the value of threescore pounds, but thro' the diligence of Sir Richard Browne, his Majesty's Resident at the Court of France, and with whose lady and family I had contracted a greate friendship (and particularly set my affections on a daughter) I recover'd most of them, obtaining of the Judge, with no small difficulty, that the processe against the thiefe should not concerne his life, being his first offence.

June 10th. We concluded about my marriage, in order to which I went to St. Germains, where his Majesty, then Prince of Wales, had his court, to desire of Dr. Earle, then one of his chaplains (since Dean of Westminster, Clerke of the Closet, and Bishop of Salisburie) that he would accompany me to Paris, which he did, and on Thursday, 27 June, 1647, he married us in Sir Richard Browne's chapell, betwixte the houres of 11 and 12, some few select freinds being present: and this being Corpus Christi feast was solemnly observ'd in this country; the

streetes were sumptuously hung with tapistry, and strew'd with flowers.

Sept. 10th. Being call'd into England to settle my affaires after an absence of 4 yeares, I tooke leave of the Prince and Queene, leaving my Wife, yet very young, under the care of an excellent lady and prudent mother.

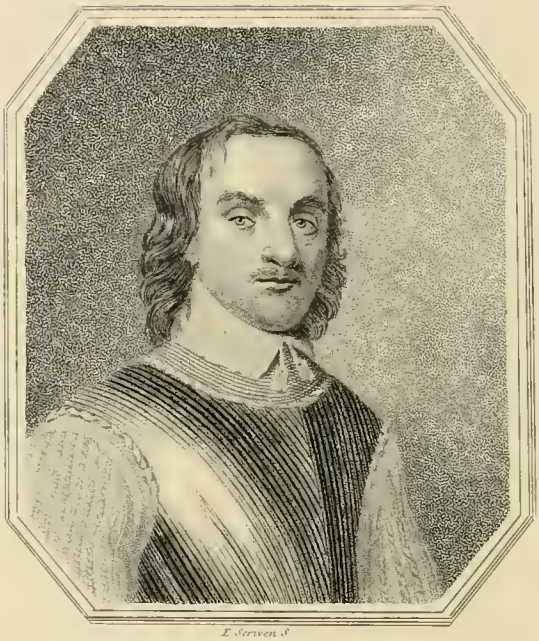
Oct. 4th. I seal'd and declar'd my Will, and that morning went from Paris, taking my journey thro' Rouen, Dieppe, Ville-dieu, and St. Vallerie, where I staied one day with Mr. Waller, with whom I had some affaires, and for which cause I tooke this circle to Calais, where I arriv'd on the 11th, and that night imbarking in the paquet-boate, was by one o'clock got safe to Dover, for which I heartily put up my thanks to God who had conducted me safe to my owne country, and ben mercifull to me thro' so many aberrations. Hence taking post I arriv'd at London the next day at evening, being the second of October new style.

Oct. 5th. I came to Wotton, the place of my birth, to my brother, and on the 10th to Hampton Court, where I had the honour to kisse his Majesty's hand, and give him an account of severall things I had in charge, he being now in the power of those execrable villains who not long after murder'd him. I lay at my cousin Serjeant Hatton's, at Thames Ditton, whence on the 13th I went to London.

14th. To Sayes Court, at Deptford in Kent, (since my house), where I found Mr. Pretyman my Wife's uncle, who had charge of it and the estate about it during my father-in-law's residence in France. On the 15th I again occupied my owne chambers in the Middle Temple.

Nov. 9th. My Sister open'd to me her marriage with Mr. Glanvill.

Jan. 14th, 1647-48. From London I went to Wot-



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OLIVER CROMWELL.

ton to see my young Nephew; and thence to Baynards [in Ewhurst] to visite my Brother Richard.

Feb. 5th. Saw a tragie-comedy acted in the Cock-pit, after there had ben none of these diversions for many years during the warr.

28th. I went with my noble friend Sir W^m^ Ducy (afterwards Lord Downe) to Thistleworth, where we din'd with Sir Clepesby Crew, and afterwards to see the rare miniatures of Peter Oliver and rounds of plaster, and then the curious flowers of Mr. Barill's garden, who has some good medails and pictures. Sir Clepesby has fine Indian hangings, and a very good chimney-piece of water-colours by Breughel, which I bought for him.

April 26th. There was a greate uprore in London that the rebell armie quartering at Whitehall would plunder the Citty, on which there was publish'd a Proclamation for all to stand on their guard.

May 4th. Came up the Essex petitioners for an agreement 'twixt his Majesty and the rebells. The 16th, the Surrey men address'd the Parliament for the same; of which some of them were slayne and murder'd by Cromwell's guards in the New Palace Yard. I now sold the impropriation of South Malling neere Lewes in Sussex to Mr. Kemp and Alcock for £3000.

May 30th. There was a rising now in Kent, my Lord of Norwich being at the head of them. Their first rendezvous was in Broome field next my house at Says-Court, whence they went to Maidstone, and so to Colchester, where was that memorable siege.

June 27th. I purchas'd the manor of Hurcott in Worcestershire of my brother George for £3300.

July 1st. I sate for my picture, in which there is a Death's head, to Mr. Walker, that excellent painter.

10th. Newes was brought me of my Lord Francis Villers being slaine by y^e^ rebells neere Kingston.

Aug. 16th. I went to Woodcote (in Epsom) to the wedding of my Brother Richard, who married the daughter and coheire of Esq^r^ Minn lately deceas'd, by which he had a greate estate both in land and monie on the death of a brother. The coach in which the bride and bridegroome were, was overturned in coming home, but no harm was done.

28th. To London from Says-Court, and saw y^e^ celebrated follies of Bartholomew Fair.

Sept. 16th. Came my lately married Brother Richard and his Wife to visite me, when I shewed them Greenwich and her Majesties Palace, now possessed by the rebells.

28th. I went to Albury to visite the Countesse of Arundel, and return'd to Wotton.

Oct. 31st. I went to see my manor of Preston Beckhelvyn and the Cliffhouse.

Nov. 29th. My selfe with Mr. Tho: Offley and Lady Gerrard, christened my Niece Mary, eldest daughter of my Brother George Evelyn by my Lady Cotton his second wife. I presented my Niece a piece of plate which cost me £18, and caused this inscription to be set on it:

"In memoriam facti
Anno cIↃ.Ix.xlIIx. Cal. Decem. VIII. Virginum castiss: Xtianorum innocentiss: Nept: suavis: Mariæ, Johan: Evelynus Avunculus et Susceptor Vasculum hoc cum Epigraphe L. M. Q. D.
Ave Maria, Gratia sis plena; Dominus tecum."

Dec. 2nd. This day I sold my manor of Hurcott for £3400. to one Mr. Bridges.

13th. The Parliament now sat up the whole night, and endeavour'd to have concluded the Isle of Wight Treaty, but were surpriz'd by the rebell army; y^e^ Members dispers'd, and greate confusion every where in expectation of what would be next.

17th. I heard an Italian sermon in Mercers

Chapel, one Dr. Middleton, an acquaintance of mine, preaching.

18th. I got privately into the council of y^e^ rebell army at Whitehall, where I heard horrid villanies.

This was a most exceeding wet yeare, neither frost nor snow all the winter for more than 6 days in all. Cattle died every where of a murrain.

END OF VOLUME I.

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